

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

Gifford—Tongan Society

277

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa. However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeetuapiko and were overcome. They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholopangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeetuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Kaitainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake. I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, 3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

TONGAN RELIGION

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

My notes on the ancient religion of Tonga are scant, as might well be expected 75 years after the complete Christianization of the country. The material here presented is in part supplementary to that already published (26). Some of it is amplification of published materials by Collocott and others. [797]

Collocott (9, pp. 152-163, 227-240) has so thoroughly portrayed the characteristics of the principal gods of Tongatabu that there is little left to do except supplement his account with further details. Farmer (23, pp. 125-146) also gives a brief sketch of the principal Tongan gods and of the functions of the priests. Most of Farmer's information was obtained from the Reverend John Thomas, a Methodist missionary. The nature of the gods is well handled by Mariner, Farmer, and Collocott. [115]

PULOTU

Pulotu, the unseen world, and domain of the god or goddess Hikuleo (23, p. 132), was believed to lie to the westward and to be reached by sea. A number of stories are told of voyages (26, p. 153) to Pulotu. There seems to be a certain tendency among modern Tongans to identify Pulotu with the underworld, Lolofonua. Pulotu is also identified by some modern informants with the cemetery or graveyard. Anciently, it was thought that a living man might visit Pulotu to recover a dead wife (26, p. 183), and that Hikuleo would assemble the spirits so that the wife might be selected, also that Hikuleo would then re-animate the visitor, so that he might return to the earth. [772]

Among modern Tongans who regard Pulotu as equivalent to the underworld, two entrances are pointed out. One of them consists of a deep hole on the island of Koloa, Vavau, a hole which mythology says was the opening by which fire was brought from the underworld to this world by Maui Kisikisi. The second opening to Pulotu, in its modern identification with the underworld, is through the volcano in the island of Tofua. People who formerly lived on Tofua report that whenever someone died in the Haapai Islands, crying or singing would be heard at the volcano. If crying is heard to-day it is interpreted to mean a dead sinner; if singing, a good Christian on his way to Pulotu. There are three divisions of Pulotu called Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, and Pulotu Tuumau. The following quotation is from Watkin (61): [775]

They have some idea of the future existence of the soul, but it is obscure indeed. There exist notions among them which savour something of the Hindoo notion of successive births in the future world, two deaths awaiting them after that endured in this world when they are freed from further mutation. The heaven they calculate

upon is upon the plan of Mahommed's very brothel. Pulotu Tete, Pulotu Akaaka, 775
and Pulotu Tuumau are the names of the Tonguese three heavens. 772

Vaiola (The-water-of-life) is believed to be in Pulotu. The following 775
brief note, translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker from a manuscript written 772
in Tongan by Rachel Tonga, refers to it: 823

It is said in the traditions that there is a country in which there is a fountain called Vaiola and the nature of this water is healing. If a sick person washes in it, he comes up healed. If a leper bathes in it he will be clean; if an old man he becomes young, the blind see, those afflicted with elephantiasis become well, the deaf hear, the dumb speak. People afflicted with any sickness need only plunge into the water to become well. Anciently the people longed night and day to do so, but it was not known where the water was situated. Some said it was at Pulotu, the residence of the gods, and some said that it was at the lower Fiji islands.

DEITIES

The gods seem to have been considered as formless spirits (19, vol. 1, 776
p. 405) who might become incarnate in any shape they desired. Thus, the 776
god Taufa might become incarnate in his priest Kautae, in a shark, or in a 825
gecko (*moko*). Similarly, the deity Fehuluni might appear either as a man
or as a woman; and the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa might appear either as
herons or as women. As a matter of fact the forms in which gods did 776
appear seem to be strictly limited in number.

The term *fakamalanga* is applied to the god of one's mother, supposed
to be kind in nature. The term also means intercessor. The word *ka* means
to treat the gods with contempt.

Belief in the gods is by no means dead today in Tonga. Good Christians 795
occasionally see, or are afflicted by, the ancient deities. Even myths con- 776
cerning the ancient gods are still in process of creation. For instance, in [778]
Lapaha is a cylindrical stone called Levulevukefu, which in Christian times
has been moved from its original position in the center of the Tui Tonga's
gateway to its present position on the west side of the main north and south
street of Lapaha. The fact of its removal is known, yet a story is current
that it was thrown from Eua Island to its present position by Maui.

Near Maufanga, Tongatabu, is a cave called Anapusi (Cat-cave), because 825
some miraculous owls living there are said to have the power of assuming
the form of cats at will. This, no doubt, is an idea that does not antedate
the introduction of cats.

The mound called Tangata Haamea, bui't at Feletoa, Vavau, by the present 776
Ulukalala for his son Tangata Haamea, who in 1921 was a clerk in the 778
premier's office in Nukualofa, is constructed of stones taken from the platform
(*paepae*) of an ancient god-house. The stones are supposed, as a result of

(Calla Filatonga) and the god Fatafehi (66, pp. 276, 277; 19, vol. 1, p. 403). 776
whom I could not identify. All informants interviewed denied the existence
of any deity with the name Fatafehi.

TANGALOA

Tangaloa, the sky god, is regarded in Vavau as being the deity who hauled [773]
up the Vavau group, his fish hook catching in what is now the island of
Hunga (41, vol. 1, p. 271). The attribution by the Vavau people of this [84]
great act to Tangaloa instead of Maui is perhaps due to some special develop- [77]
ment of Tangaloa worship in Vavau. Tangaloa Tufunga, though said not to [335]
be a god of Niuatoputapu, is the patron of carpenters elsewhere in Tonga.

MAUI

The Maui were characterized by one informant not as gods but as men,
and they are believed to appear sometimes as men. In other words, they are
really culture heroes who correspond better to the designation of demigod
than of god. According to Maatu of Niuatoputapu, Maui is not credited
with having benefited that island. He is, however, reputed to have drawn 776
up successively the islands of Ata, north of Tongatabu, and Tongatabu with 773
all of its associated islands, then Lofanga and the other Haapai islands, and
lastly the Vavau group (38, p. 113). There are several places in the Ton-
gatabu and Vavau groups which have tales connecting them with the exploits
of the Maui. At Toloa, Tongatabu, certain breakers are said to represent 776
the great fowl (*moa*) wounded by Maui, who hurled stones at it, as it flew 773
from Eua. Thus, when a wave approaches the shore and breaks only in part 823
it is said to be the fowl approaching. The part of the wave which is break-
ing is called the good wing of the bird. The part which does not break is
said to be the broken wing of the bird, which has been struck by Maui's
missile.

There is a definite localization of tales about Maui in Eua Island and in the
Vavau group, seemingly drawing upon two separate sets of tales, which in
modern times have been more or less amalgamated. In Eua, Maui Kisikisi
and his father and mother are said to have lived at Haatua. At that place
there is a large stretch of ground with a deep depression which is called the
Matalanga-a-Maui. The tale recounts that the father chided Kisikisi for
not working, whereupon the boy in anger seized his great digging stick,
plunged it into the ground and worked it back and forth, shaking Eua terribly.
His father ordered him to desist lest he upset the island, and Kisikisi expostu-
lated at the unequal treatment he received, one time hearing complaint because
he did no work, and then hearing further complaint as soon as he started to
make a garden. In exasperation he cast his digging stick over the cliff Le-

lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.)

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter, said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this characteristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow stone called the kava bowl of Maui.

HIKULEO

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time. Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, contributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was frequently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subsequently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemec. It was located on a tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto, and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of executed persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The following anecdote is told:

mant. A joint of the little finger of some close relative of a sick person was sacrificed as an offering to the god and was believed to result in the patient's restoration to health. As in Tongatabu the presence of the gecko indicated to the supplicants that the god had appeared. At this sanctuary there was a white stone called Makau (Calling-stone), thus having the same name as the priest at the god's sanctuary in Maufanga. It is said that when the god desired to assemble people he beat upon this stone and people would come. This statement probably means that the priest beat upon this stone, for Tongans seem not to discriminate often in their statements between the priest and the god, which seems natural enough according to the belief that the priest becomes the embodiment of the god. It is said that when Taufaaahau was planning to come to Haapai from Tongatabu to destroy the temples of the gods, the stone Makau gave warning of this while Taufaaahau was yet in Tongatabu. The stone Makau is reported to be buried in a vault in the cemetery at the beach in Faleloa, but just which vault it is not known.

The account of the Fotua informant (Mesake Lomu) concerning Tui Haa Fakafanua's establishment at Faleloa differs in certain details from the accounts of the Faleloa informants, and makes Makau the priest, and not the stone.

Tui Haa Fakafanua had a temple in Faleloa in the island Foa, Haapai group. His priest there was named Makau. The incarnation of the god was the gecko (*moko*), to which the people prayed. Should any person be ill, a finger of another person would be amputated and taken to Tui Haa Fakafanua.

The god had two other incarnations, namely the man-eating shark *temifa*, also variously called mud shark and tiger shark, and the ordinary shark, *anga*. Should anyone desire to tapu his garden (plantation) he would make a wooden image of the man-eating shark and place it in the garden. If anyone stole from that garden and later went into the sea, he would be eaten by a shark. In Tui Haa Fakafanua's temple there was a basket in which was a whale's tooth and turmeric.

Makau, the priest of the god, owned a double sailing vessel (*kalia*) called the Fekitaki, which, when not in use, was kept covered with coconut-leaf mats. A man named Fangu, from Uvea stole the mats and thus exposed the vessel to the sun. When Makau arrived the vessel had been much damaged by exposure. So Makau stood at the water's edge and called out to Tui Haa Fakafanua, "Thy vessel has had mischief done unto it. Search for the perpetrator." Shortly afterwards the thief Fangu bathed in the sea. Then he sat on the dry sand and made himself some kava. While so doing a huge man-eating shark bit and ate him.

Tui Haa Fakafanua appears to have had also a god house and a priest on the island of Nomuka, Haapai. It is said that the god made people "silly" who came to consult him.

McKern (42) excavated on Pangaimotu Island, near Tongatabu, a mound which was formerly the site of a temple to Tui Haa Fakafanua. Takai, the chief of Pea, is said to have lived for a time on Pangaimotu early in the nineteenth century, but declined to build his house on this site, which was evidently then deserted, even though it was a fine high and dry location. His

TUI TOFUA

I have given (26, p. 77) a number of tales about the god of Tofua 776 Island, reputed to have been a chief's son who committed suicide by drowning and who was transformed into a huge man-eating shark. The father of Tui Tofua was named Vakafuhu (possibly the Tui Tonga Vakafuhu), and his tomb is said to be located on Tofua Island. It is of stone and very smooth and flat, rather different from a langi or royal tomb. The name of Tui Tofua's mother was Langitaetaea. The term Tui Tofua is not a title, but a personal name applied only to the individual who became a shark god. The title of the ruler of Tofua is Tafa Tofua.

DEITIES OF TONGATABU ISLAND

Collocott (9) has dealt so thoroughly with the deities of the Tongatabu 128 Islands that I can hope to add only comments and minor details. I have already discussed Tui Haa Fakafanua and Tafa.

According to one informant, the god Taliaitupou, as well as the god Pulotu 821 Katoa, was capable of stopping a hurricane if beseeched. If the people went to the house of Taliaitupou to secure cessation of a hurricane, upon returning to their homes the hurricane would be over. Collocott (op. cit. p. 230) states that one sacred object of Taliaitupou was a large black volcanic pebble. 776 778 As there is another deity, namely, Fakafumaka or Vakafuhu, whose first name refers to a stone, it seems not impossible to me that the volcanic pebble referred to may be the sacred object of Fakafumaka rather than of Taliaitupou. The stone, which I saw at the Methodist headquarters in Nukualofa, is called Tui Ahau. A companion stone lies at Kolovai in Tongatabu and gives us an example of animatism among the Tongans, inasmuch as it is considered capable of bringing forth small pebbles. That white coral pebbles 823 and black volcanic pebbles buried together will increase, is firmly believed by Tongans to-day.

The local deity of Nukualofa is said to have been a goddess named Popua. 776 She was reputed to be endowed with poor legs and it is said in consequence 826 Nukualofa people have poor legs. When the first missionary ship was off 797 the island of Malinoa near Tongatabu, Popua informed the Tongans that she had come to them because of her affection, but that the white man's god that was coming in the ship was stronger than the native gods, all of whom had retired to Ata Island (north of Tongatabu), whither she too was going.

The god Vaiuka, who had his seat at Niutoua, manifested himself through the matapule priest Leha (op. cit. p. 233). Pulotu Katoa, a god who comes in for considerable notice from Collocott (op. cit. p. 162), seems to have been a very important deity in Tongatabu. According to Watkin (61), this god 821 caused storms because of his displeasure over the introduction of Christianity. 798

[Eua Island]
Gifford-Tongan Society

303

that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Lauilitonga. 776

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu. [266]

DEITIES OF EUA ISLAND

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9, pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the origin of geographic features (26, p. 88). Connected with this deity was a great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamoa (visible to Samoa). The Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red, and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau. 825
[793]
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823

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelegevalu whose house stood on a mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be the goddess transformed. She was a *taupoou* (virgin). Two lovers (*manaia*) tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelegevalu. The two lovers were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course). 776
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Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,
Lefelegevalu tu'u mei lalo.
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,

Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,

Kokafa e api kai tole.

Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,
Lefelegevalu stands below.
Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat
rat,
Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the
eel,
Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten. [539]

The names Lefelegevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to eight female organs and nine male organs.

[Lifuka Island]

304

Bernice P. Bishop Museum—Bulletin 61

South of the mound Lefeleva is a stone called Anganganiofae, which is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 776
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DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. 776
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[821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with cane (*koko*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kie*). "He stayed alone like a king and no one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house. They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig. 776
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If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet with mishap. 776
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[821]

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds. 776
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The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. However, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appearance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself, but merely the messenger of the god. 776
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[782]

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary between the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people. The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief. 776
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[787]

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the village of Holopeka. 793
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Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaaahu set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by Taufaaahu. 776
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[Lifuka Island]
Gifford—Tongan Society

307

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would place around their necks wreaths of *isi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the priest and would recover. [757]

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. [776, 782, 784, 783]

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled. His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with him in the night time. [776, 793, 787, 595]

The people said prayers to Uluenga. The god had his graveyard which was called Haa Fakanapa. [776, 782]

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [776, 782, 778, 778, 823]

DEITIES OF FOA ISLAND

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatouffita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people prayed to Fakatouffita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of another and take it to Fakatouffita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover. [755]

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric. [793, 778]

DEITIES OF HAAFEVA ISLAND

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being associated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The spring is called Matahiva. [776, 778, 823]

DEITIES OF FOTUHAA ISLAND

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa, but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, the people bringing coconuts and wreaths (*sisi*) and making kava in front of the god's house. [821, 787]

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a *matapule*, would tell the god that the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking [776, 793, 787, 821]

which was presided over by a priestess named Hena, and the other was 776 established in the tract called Olotaane. The name of the priest was Hala- [793] tapu.

DEITIES OF VAVAU

I have but little to add to Mariner's account of Vavau deities. Two prominent deities were the goddesses Sisi and Faingaa, who sometimes appeared as two beautiful women or again as two herons, Sisi being a white or piebald heron, Faingaa being a gray heron. Both the white and gray birds belong to a single species which is dichromatic in coloring. There is a story (26, p. 196) which relates to these goddesses in their human form. [825]

At the village of Toula, Vavau, there stands to-day a large smooth boulder 776 on a grassy flat. There were formerly two of these boulders, but one has been broken by the villagers to use for their ovens. The two stones were said to represent Sisi and Faingaa, who often resided therein. A Toula [825] informant said that when the goddesses left the boulders they assumed the form of herons, and in that guise they went on long flights, catching and eating human beings who came in their way.

The following list of gods of Vavau was supplied by Tapueluelu, the 776 mayor of Neiafu:

1. Talaiai Tupou, a male deity.
 2. Tui Haa Fakafanua. The god became incarnate at times as a man who went about fighting the other gods. His priest in Vavau was named Faainu.
 3. Haele Feke. The sacred animal of this god was the octopus.
 4. Fehuluni. In Vavau, Fehuluni is considered as bisexual; appearing sometimes as a man, sometimes as a woman. This deity is said to have no sacred animal. There was, however, a priest to Fehuluni in Vavau. Aa Island was the god's residence (see p. 294).
 5. Taufaitahi, a male deity who appeared in a certain shark.
 6. Fakailoatonga, a male deity who might appear either in a shark or a kingfisher. His priest was Toki, for whom William Mariner was named. This deity was the god of my informant's father, Naufahu, the son of Finau Fisi. [Popua, a goddess of Tongatabu, was the patron deity of Tapueluelu's mother, who was Funakitoutai of Nukualofa. Funakitoutai's parents were from the Hihifo district of Tongatabu. Apparently the worship of Popua was never introduced to Vavau.]
- Tapueluelu did not know of the god Aloalo. He said that Tui Tofua was strictly a Haapai god and Pulotu Katoka a Tongatabu god.

Of gods of other islands of the Vavau group but little was learned. A goddess named Latutama presided over the island of Okoa and was said to be worshipped there only. Her sacred animal was the shark. She was [825] served by a priest who occupied a house in the tract called Kaukiola. The [793] volcanic island of Late, to the west of Vavau, had as a god Tau[moefolau]. The informant was certain only of the first syllable of this name.

As to the particular deities which the various Vavau chiefs worshipped, [565]

Certain natural phenomena, though not being regarded as ominous, sometimes caused alarm. Earthquakes were believed to be caused by the movements of one of the Maui who is thought to support the earth. The apparent movement of the sun to the northern tropic was observed, though not the motive for alarm or ceremony. When the sun was farthest north the season was called *faahi tau momoko* (cold season). It marked the beginning of the year and the time of yam planting. When the sun was at the southern tropic the season was called *faahi tau mafana* (warm season). [787] [823] [821]

An expected eclipse of the moon which occurred in October, 1920, though causing no alarm, was regarded as indication of strong wind in a few days. The moon eclipse is called *mate mahina* (death of the moon). Similarly an eclipse of the sun is called *mate laa*. Apparently the infrequency of sun eclipses is one reason why they cause alarm. One occurred in 1918 and was evidently the first seen by many people. Although they had been forewarned by a visiting astronomer, intense alarm prevailed. The informant who had never seen one before, and who was in the bush at the time, ran for his village as fast as possible. He said the ancient belief was that the sun was a god and was angry with people and showed anger by going out. Evidently some of this belief still survived in 1918. [787] [776]

The activities of certain birds and lizards were believed to be especially pregnant with indications of forthcoming events. The Tongans, even to-day, take cognizance of these movements to an extent that suggests the Malaysian observation of animal movements. The gecko (*moko*) is everywhere in Tonga an omen animal. It is regarded particularly as a barometer of impending weather conditions. If it remains quiet, good weather is indicated, if it is very active, a storm is imminent. This little lizard, sacred to the god Tui Haa Fakafanua, was taken aboard vessels anciently as a barometer. Another weather indicator is the frigate bird (*lofa*), rare in Tonga, whose appearance presages a gale or hurricane. The barking of dogs at night without evident cause is a sign of the presence of ghosts. Dogs bore place and personal names anciently and were fondled and talked to by their masters (usually chiefs). There was no belief that it was dangerous to address conversation to a dog. [787] [825] [825] [821] [787] [825] [821] [775] [821]

Birds played by far the most important part as omen givers. The calling of the owl (*lulu*) immediately after lamplighting is a sign of a pregnant woman in the house, and if the owl calls over a house in the middle of the night, it is a sign of impending death. If the gallinule (*kalae*) cries close to a house, it is also considered a notification of impending death. A number of *fulcheu* birds (*Ptilotis carunculata*) flying together in a particular formation is called *fata* (bier) and is a sign of death. Another evil omen of the *fulcheu*, called *sipa*, consists in a number of them sounding the note of alarm. If a cock crows, soon after the time when the fowls [787] [825] [763] [843]

727 discover, being directed by the voice, Finow and the rest of the company, seated like himself. Nevertheless, as it was desirable to have a stronger illumination, Mr. Mariner dived out again, and procuring his pistol, primed it well, tied plenty of *gnatoo* tight round it, and wrapped the whole up in a plaintain leaf: he directed an attendant to bring a torch in the same way. Thus prepared, he re-entered the cavern as speedily as possible, unwrapped the *gnatoo*, a great portion of which was perfectly dry, fired it by the flash of the powder, and lighted the torch. The place was now illuminated tolerably well, for the first time, perhaps, since its existence. It appeared (by guess) to be about 40 feet wide in the main part, but which branched off, on one side, in two narrower portions. The medium height seemed also about 40 feet*. The roof was hung with stalactites in a very curious way, resembling, upon a cursory view, the gothic arches and ornaments of an old church. After having examined the place, they drank cava, and passed away the time in conversation upon different subjects. Among other things, an

133
521
[276]
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[829]

* Jeremiah Higgins thinks it was not near so high: he had the light of the sun setting opposite to the entrance, and refracted through the water. Mr. Mariner had a superior light, from his torch.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

259

old mataboole, after having mentioned how the 521
cavern was discovered, viz. by a young chief in 823
the act of diving after a turtle, related an interesting account of the use which this chief made of his accidental discovery. The circumstances are as follow.

In former times there lived a tooi (governor) 696
of Vavaoo, who exercised a very tyrannical deportment towards his people; at length, when 584
it was no longer to be borne, a certain chief 823
meditated a plan of insurrection, and was resolved to free his countrymen from such odious 173
slavery, or to be sacrificed himself in the attempt: being however treacherously deceived [669]
by one of his own party, the tyrant became acquainted with his plan, and immediately had him arrested. He was condemned to be taken out to sea and drowned, and all his family and [687]
relations were ordered to be massacred, that none of his race might remain. One of his daughters, a beautiful girl, young and interesting, had been reserved to be the wife of a chief of considerable rank, and she also would have sunk, the victim of the merciless destroyer, had it not been for the generous exertions of another young chief, who a short time before had discovered the cavern of Hoonga. This discovery he had kept within his breast a profound secret, reserving it as a place of retreat

696 for himself, in case he should be unsuccessful
584 in a plan of revolt which he also had in view.
823 He had long been enamoured of this beautiful
173 young maiden, but had never dared to make
her acquainted with the soft emotions of his
heart, knowing that she was betrothed to a
chief of higher rank and greater power. But
now the dreadful moment arrived when she
was about to be cruelly sacrificed to the ran-
cour of a man, to whom he was a most deadly
enemy. No time was to be lost; he flew to her
abode, communicated in a few short words the
decree of the tyrant, declared himself her de-
liverer if she would trust to his honour, and,
with eyes speaking the most tender affections,
he waited with breathless expectation for an
answer. Soon her consenting hand was clasped
in his: the shades of evening favoured their
escape; whilst the wood, the covert, or the
grove, afforded her concealment, till her lover
had brought a small canoe to a lonely part of
the beach. In this they speedily embarked,
and as he paddled her across the smooth
wave, he related his discovery of the cavern
destined to be her asylum till an opportunity
offered of conveying her to the Fiji islands.
She, who had entrusted her personal safety
entirely to his care, hesitated not to consent to
whatever plan he might think promotive of

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

261

their ultimate escape: her heart being full of gratitude, love and confidence found an easy access. They soon arrived at the rock, he leaped into the water, and she, instructed by him, followed close after: they rose into the cavern, and rested from their fears and their fatigue, partaking of some refreshment which he had brought there for himself, little thinking, at the time, of the happiness that was in store for him. Early in the morning he returned to Vavaoo to avoid suspicion: but did not fail, in the course of the day, to repair again to the place which held all that was dear to him; he brought her mats to lie on, the finest *gnatoo* for a change of dress, the best of food for her support, sandal wood oil, cocoanuts, and every thing he could think of to render her life as comfortable as possible. He gave her as much of his company as prudence would allow, and at the most appropriate times, lest the prying eye of curiosity should find out his retreat. He pleaded his tale of love with the most impassioned eloquence, half of which would have been sufficient to have won her warmest affections, for she owed her life to his prompt and generous exertions at the risk of his own: and how much was he delighted when he heard the confession from her own lips, that she had long regarded him with a

696 favourable eye, but a sense of duty had caused
584 her to smother the growing fondness, till the
823 late sad misfortune of her family, and the cir-
173 cumstances attending her escape, had revived
all her latent affections, to bestow them wholly
upon a man to whom they were so justly due.
How happy were they in this solitary retreat!
tyrannic power now no longer reached them :
shut out from the world and all its cares and
perplexities ;—secure from all the eventful
changes attending upon greatness, cruelty, and
ambition ;—themselves were the only powers
they served, and they were infinitely delighted
with this simple form of government. But al-
though this asylum was their great security in
their happiest moments, they could not always
enjoy each other's company ; it was equally
necessary to their safety that he should be often
absent from her, and frequently for a length
of time together, lest his conduct should be
watched. The young chief therefore panted
for an opportunity to convey her to happier
scenes, where his ardent imagination pictured
to him the means of procuring for her every
enjoyment and comfort, which her amiable
qualifications so well entitled her to : nor was
it a great while before, an opportunity offering,
he devised the means of restoring her with
safety to the cheerful light of day. He signi-

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

263

fied to his inferior chiefs and matabooles, that it was his intention to go to the Fiji islands, and he wished them to accompany him with their wives and female attendants, but he desired them on no account to mention to the latter the place of their destination, lest they should inadvertently betray their intention, and the governing chief prevent their departure. A large canoe was soon got ready, and every necessary preparation made for the voyage. As they were on the point of departure, they asked him if he would not take a Tonga wife with him. He replied, no! but he should probably find one by the way: this they thought a joke, but in obedience to his orders they said no more, and, every body being on board, they put to sea. As they approached the shores of Hoonga, he directed them to steer to a certain point, and having come close to a rock, according to his orders, he got up, and desired them to wait there while he went into the sea to fetch his wife; and without staying to be asked any questions, he sprang into the water from that side of the canoe farthest from the rock, swam under the canoe, and proceeded forward into the sanctuary which had so well concealed his greatest and dearest treasure. Every body on board was exceedingly surprised at his strange conduct, and began to think him in-

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584
823
173

696 sane: and after a little lapse of time, not seeing
584 him come up, they were greatly alarmed for his
● 823 safety, imagining a shark must have seized
179 him. Whilst they were all in the utmost concern, debating what was best to be done, whether they ought to dive down after him, or wait according to his orders, for that perhaps he had only swum round and was come up in some niche of the rock, intending to surprise them,—their wonder was increased beyond all powers of expression, on seeing him rise to the surface of the water, and come into the canoe with a beautiful female. At first they mistook her for a goddess, and their astonishment was not lessened when they recognised her countenance, and found her to be a person, whom they had no doubt was killed in the general massacre of her family; and this they thought must be her apparition. But how agreeably was their wonder softened down into the most interesting feelings, when the young chief related to them the discovery of the cavern and the whole circumstance of her escape. All the young men on board could not refrain envying him his happiness in the possession of so lovely and interesting a creature. They arrived safe at one of the Fiji islands, and resided with a certain chief during two years: at the end of which time, hearing of the death of the tyrant

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

265

of Vavaoo, the young chief returned with his wife to the last mentioned island, and lived long in peace and happiness.

Such, as to matter of fact, is the substance of the account given by the old mataboole. There was one thing however stated, which might appear in opposition to probability, viz. that the chief's daughter remained in the cavern two or three months, before her lover found an opportunity of taking her to the Fiji islands: if this be true, there must have been some other concealed opening in the cavern to have afforded a fresh supply of air. With a view to ascertain this, Mr. Mariner swam with the torch in his hand up both the avenues before spoken of, but without discovering any opening; he also climbed every accessible place, with as little success. At the time Jeremiah Higgins was in this cavern it was nearly low water. He felt a draught of air coming from the left, and on examining the source of it found a hole which he thinks was more than a foot diameter, from which proceeded a tolerably strong and steady breeze, but not the least glimmer of light. This opening he guesses to have been about four feet above the surface of the water at that time. When Mr. Mariner was there, it must have been nearly high water, and the hole

727 probably covered: and even if it were not con-
 133 cealed it would transmit no current of air in-
 wardly unless the tide were going out, which
 he thinks was not the case. At the time Hig-
 gins was there the weather was perfectly calm,
 not a breath of wind stirring; consequently,
 the influx of air must have been occasioned by
 the descent of the surface of water within: on
 the other hand, when the water rises the air
 must rush out. This cavern therefore may be
 said to respire like an animal; the rise and fall
 of the tide acting as a diaphragm, and the
 above-mentioned narrow passage as a breathing
 696 hole. Jeremiah Higgins also heard the story
 584 of the young chief and his mistress, which
 823 perfectly accorded in all the material points
 173 with what is told above: it appears from his
 narration as well as from Mr. Mariner's, that
 the natives give this account of the two lovers
 as a piece of true history, not a romance.
 133 There is a sort of shelf at the farther end of
 the cavern and high up, which is pointed out
 as having been used for a bed-place.

224 Finow and his party having finished their
 519 cava, dived out of the cavern, and resumed
 134 their proper dress: after which they proceeded
 across the country, and got into the public
 roads, to amuse themselves with the sport of
 136 shooting rats. These animals are not so large

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

271

feet,) made of reed, headed with iron-wood: 224
 they are not feathered, and their great length 411
 is requisite, that they may go straight enough
 to hit a small object; besides which, it is ad-
 vantageous in taking an aim through a thick
 bush. Each individual in the party has only
 two arrows, for, as soon as he has discharged
 one from his bow, it is immediately brought to
 him by one of the attendants who follow the
 party. The bows also are rather longer than
 those used in war, being about six feet, the war-
 bows being about four feet and a half; nor are
 they so strong, lest the difficulty of bending
 them should occasion a slight trembling of the
 hand, which would render the aim less certain.

Finow and his friends having finished their 779
 shooting excursion, and taken some refresh- 823
 ment, directed their walk at random across the 634
 island, and arrived near a rock, noted by the 517
 natives as being (in their estimation) the im-
 mediate cause of the origin of all the Tonga
 islands. It happened once (before these islands
 were in existence) that one of their gods (Tan-
 galoa) went out fishing with line and hook:
 it chanced, however, that the hook got fixed in
 a rock at the bottom of the sea, and, in conse-
 quence of the god pulling in his line, he drew
 up all the Tonga islands, which, they say,
 would have formed one great land; but the

773 line accidentally breaking, the act was incom-
 823 plete, and matters were left as they now are.

They show a hole in the rock, about two feet
 diameter, which quite perforates it, and in
 (643) which Tangaloa's hook got fixed. It is more-

over said that Tooitonga (the divine chief) had,
 till within a few years, this very hook in his
 possession, which had been handed down to
 him by his forefathers; but, unfortunately, his
 house catching fire, the basket in which the

727 hook was kept got burnt with its contents. Mr.

124 Mariner once asked Tooitonga what sort of a

hook it was, and was told that it was made of

643 tortoise-shell, strengthened by a piece of the

773 bone of a whale: in size and shape it was just

like a large albacore hook, measuring six or
 seven inches long, from the curve to the part
 where the line was attached, and an inch and
 a half between the barb and the stem. Mr.

Mariner objected that such a hook must have

been too weak for the purpose; Oh no, said

Tooitonga, you must recollect that it was a

god's hook, and could not break;—how came

then the *line* to break? was it not also the pro-

perty of a god?—I do not know how that was,

replied Tooitonga; but such is the account

they give, and I know nothing farther about it.

634 A few days after this excursion, Finow hav-

484 ing portioned out several of the smaller

424 catching them, owing to the greater number of
 [226] reefs and shelves. With this canoe, a certain
 [139] chief, named Mahe Boogoo, departed for Ha-
 423 pai, where he possessed a large property, on
 [591] which he was desirous to reside for the future.
 [431] He had also a plantation at Vavaoo, situated
 [634] on the northern coast, about a mile and a half
 long, and half a mile broad, one end of which
 ran down close to the water's edge: this pro-
 823 perty he made a present of to the king. It will
 be proper to give a description of this planta-
 tion, because it includes, near the sea, the most
 romantic spot in all the Tonga islands; which
 constitutes the subject of many of their songs,
 and is a place of resort to the young and old of
 both sexes, who wish to enjoy, for a few hours,
 the luxury of romantic scenery: it is famous,
 also, for having been, at a former epoch, the
 scene of an enterprising action on the part of
 some young chiefs, who took refuge there from
 their adversaries, and obstinately held their po-
 sition for six months.

133 It happens that nature has assembled in this
 137 spot, not only the wildest profusion of the ve-
 getable kingdom, over which the lofty *toa* tree
 stands pre-eminent, but also objects of another
 description, overhanging rocks, hollow-sound-
 ing caverns, and steep precipices, calculated to
 give an aspect as bold and sublime as the ima-

823 On this rock in former times, as popular tradition records, a band of young chiefs, the heads of a conspiracy, took refuge from the rage of their adversaries, and held the place during six months*; it being quite inaccessible, except by one narrow path, exceedingly steep and dangerous, not wide enough to allow two persons to pass up abreast. This passage was, of course, perfectly under the command of those above, who, by rolling large stones down, could, at any time, hurl destruction upon whomsoever might rashly attempt to ascend. Here they remained in security, as long as their stock of provisions lasted, and even when this was expended, they refused to yield, till famine and raging thirst had destroyed all but three, who, being tempted by a promise of pardon, gave themselves up to their adversaries.

823 Scarcely was this done when they were taken before the king, who cruelly ordered them to be massacred in his presence. The number of those who died upon the rock were five, and they were buried on the spot: three of the graves are still very apparent; the other two are pointed out, but they are not in so distinct a state. The natives, now and then, ascend this rock, to enjoy the sublime beauty of the

* They had supplied the place beforehand with *ma*, on which they lived during the whole time.

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

291

surrounding scenery, or to reflect on the fate of those rebellious men, who, so long ago, departed from the scene of public tumult, by dying in an unsuccessful attempt to change the order of things. Here the moral reflections of the natives are sometimes heard in the following strain; "Where now are those men who once held up their heads in defiance of their chiefs? where now is the proud boast of superiority? Their bodies lie here mingled with the dust, and their names are almost forgotten*!—But their souls! how are they affected? are they now the same ambitious spirits in Bolotoo, as they were once in Tonga, when they animated this silent dust which is now all that remains of them?—are they still the partizans of sedition, tumult, and war?—but no! in Bolotoo they are all gods, and see with a clear understanding what is right, without the folly of fighting!"

Such are the reflections of those who visit this spot and view the lonesome habitations of the dead; but it is not often that such visits are made, owing to the difficulty of the ascent,

* The names of some of these chiefs are still known to a few of the old matabooles, who have been at the pains of inquiring particulars from their fathers; but the cause in which they suffered is very imperfectly understood, and, no doubt, mixed up with a great deal of invention and surmise.

823 and the toil and trouble which it necessarily
 404 occasions. In the estimation of the romantic,
 [607] however, this trouble is amply repaid by the
 [829] rich and extensive scenery on every side, whilst
 [775] the murmuring of the waves, breaking upon
 [669] the rocks below, soothes the mind with a pleas-
 823 ing melancholy easier to be conceived than de-
 533 scribed. The effect which this works upon the
 minds of the natives will be more easily under-
 stood when we see a sample of their descriptive
 songs, which in language, like that of Ossian,
 [128] are plaintive and pathetic. In the first place,
 however, it is necessary to state a few particu-
 lars relative to this romantic and diversified
 spot, that certain passages of the ensuing song
 may be better understood.

197 On the right of the wood of *tamanoo* trees
 515 there is another wood, consisting almost wholly
 of *toá* trees: here the natives frequently resort
 to rinse themselves with the fresh water found
 in the hollows, between the junctions of the
 large branches or limbs that come off imme-
 diately from the trunk, after having bathed
 themselves in the sea: for the salt water, with-
 out using such rinsing afterwards, is apt to
 produce, in hot climates, a cutaneous eruption:
 besides which, the fresh water washing prevents
 that uneasy sensation of heat in the skin, upon
 a little exertion, attended with a clamminess;

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

293

and sometimes, on the contrary, with a profuse perspiration. Here also they plait flowers which they have gathered at Matawto, (about a mile farther along the beach,) which the women put round their necks or take home to the *mooa*, and present to their lovers or their friends, or to superior chiefs.

The following song is very often sung by them, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, is given in a sort of recitative by either sex; and in the Tonga language has neither rhymes nor regular measure, although some of their songs have both. It is perhaps a curious circumstance that love and war seldom form the subjects of their poetical compositions, but mostly scenery and moral reflections.

SONG.

Whilst we were talking of *Vavdoo toāa Licoo*, the women said to us, let us repair to the back of the island to contemplate the setting sun: there let us listen to the warbling of the birds and the cooing of the wood-pigeon. We will gather flowers from the burying-place at *Matāwto*, and partake of refreshments prepared for us at *Licoo Onē*: we will then bathe in the sea, and rinse ourselves in the *Vdoo Aca*; we will anoint our skins in the sun with sweet scented oil, and will plait in wreaths the flowers gathered at *Matāwto*. And now as we stand motionless on the eminence over *Ana Mānoo*, the whistling of the wind among the branches of the lofty *toa* shall fill us with a pleasing melancholy; or our minds shall be seized with astonishment as we behold the roaring surf below, endeavouring but in vain to tear away the firm rocks.

823 Oh! how much happier shall we be thus employed, than
533 when engaged in the troublesome and insipid affairs of life.
534 Now as night comes on, we must return to the *Moóá*:—
but hark!—hear you not the sound of the mats?—they are
practising a *bu-uóla* * to be performed to-night on the *malái*
at *Taná*; let us also go there. How will that scene of re-
joicing call to our minds the many festivals held there, before
Vardoo was torn to pieces by war. Alas! how destructive
is war!—Behold! how it has rendered the land productive of
weeds, and opened untimely graves for departed heroes!
Our chiefs can now no longer enjoy the sweet pleasure of
wandering alone by moonlight in search of their mistresses:
but let us banish sorrow from our hearts: since we are at
war, we must think and act like the natives of *Fiji*, who first
taught us this destructive art. Let us therefore enjoy the
present time, for to-morrow perhaps or the next day we may
die. We will dress ourselves with *chi co la*, and put bands
of white *táppa* round our waists; we will plait thick wreaths
of *jiale* for our heads, and prepare strings of *hooni* for our
necks, that their whiteness may shew off the colour of our
skins. Mark how the uncultivated spectators are profuse of
their applause!—But now the dance is over: let us remain
here to-night, and feast and be cheerful, and to-morrow we
will depart for the *Mooa*. How troublesome are the young
men, begging for our wreaths of flowers, while they say in
their flattery, “ See how charming these young girls look
“ coming from *Licoo*!—how beautiful are their skins, dif-
“ fusing around a fragrance like the flowery precipice of
“ *Mataloco*.”—Let us also visit *Licoo*; we will depart to-
morrow.

194 The beautiful plantation, of which the above
241 song is partly descriptive, is famed for the
great fertility of its fields: the liberal hand of
nature has there planted the bread-fruit and

[535]

* A kind of dance performed by torch-light.

643 due to the divine character of this chief: and as this was done immediately after Tooitonga's death, his son did not succeed to this high title; so that if affairs still remain in the same state at Vavaoo, there is at present no Tooitonga, and probably never again will be; but if there should happen some violent political change, it is possible the son of the late divine chief may be raised to that honour: we therefore speak of Tooitonga as if actually existing.

[551] The family name of Tooitonga is Fatafehi, and
 [565] the present head of the family, the only son (of legitimate rank,) is now a youth of about sixteen or seventeen years of age; his name is Fatafehi Low fili Tonga: he is still considered a chief of high rank, and has respect paid to him accordingly.

[565] Tooitonga and Veachi are both acknowledged
 [778] descendants of chief gods who formerly visited
 [776] the islands of Tonga, but whether their original mothers were goddesses or merely natives of Tonga, is a question which they do not pretend to decide. Of these two personages, Tooitonga, 643
 823 as may be guessed from his title, is far higher in rank;—the word imports chief of Tonga, which 565
 764 island has always been considered the most noble of all the Tonga islands, and from time immemorial the greatest chiefs have been accustomed to make it their principal place of re-

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

77.

sidence, and after their decease to be buried there
 in the tombs of their ancestors. This island,
 moreover, gives name, by way of pre-eminence,
 to all the islands taken collectively, as a capital
 town sometimes gives name to a country; and
 withal it has acquired the epithet of sacred,
táboo, and is thus sometimes called *Tonga táboo*,
 denoting its excellence; from this circumstance
 it is erroneously noted down in our charts. *Ton-*
gataboo; but *táboo* is only an epithet occasion-
 ally used. The respect which is shewn to *Tooi-*
tonga, and the high rank which he holds in so-
 ciety, is wholly of a religious nature, and is far
 superior, when occasion demands it, to that
 which is shewn even to the king himself; for
 this latter, as will by and by be seen, is by no
 means of the most noble descent, but yields in
 this respect to *Tooitonga*, *Veachi*, and several
 families related to them; and if the king were
 accidentally to meet any chief of nobler descent
 than himself, he would have to sit down on the
 ground till the other had passed him, which is
 a mark of respect that a common peasant would
 be obliged to shew to any chief or *Egi* what-
 soever; and for this reason the king never as-
 sociates with any chief superior to himself, and
 always endeavours to avoid meeting them, and
 they in like manner endeavour to avoid him,
 that he might not be put to the trouble of sitting

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

109

Too'r Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo*.
 This and the three following gods are all minor
 gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors
 of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name,
 he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before
 him; but much upon an equality with the three
 following. He has two houses dedicated to him
 at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere
 that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps,
 two or three priests.

Ha'LA A'PI A'PI; literally, *a road crowded*.
 He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo.
 Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to
 him. He has one priest.

To'GI OOCUMME'A; literally, *an iron axe*. The
 same attributes as the above.

Toobo' Boo'goo; literally, *Toobo the Short*.
 The same attributes as the above.

TANGALO'A; god of artificers and the arts:
 doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him:
 has several priests, who are all carpenters. It
 was this god that brought the Tonga islands
 from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the
 chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and
 power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of EGIES, or NOBLES: of these there
 must be a vast number. Their attributes are
 similar to those of the primitive chief gods.

776 Of these there are perhaps several in number, but only five or six are supposed to be particularly active; and from their disposition to plague mankind, they reside more frequently at Tonga than at Bolotoo. They are accused of [171] being the cause of all the petty inconveniences and troubles of life: and at Hamóá (or the Navigator's islands), they have an idea which is very convenient to the reputation of the females, that some of these *hotooa pow* molest them in their sleep, in consequence of which there are many supernatural conceptions: at Tonga, however, the matter is never carried to that extent. These *hotooa pow* have no priests, [793] have no houses dedicated to them, nor are they [778] ever invoked. All the great misfortunes of life, [782] as before noticed, are special inflictions from [784] the gods for the crimes of men: whereas the [828] mischievous tricks played by the *hotooa pow* are for their own whim and delight; they lead travellers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump upon their backs in the dark, cause the nightmare and frightful dreams. They are never seen.

[823] Móoor—A god that supports the earth, the earth lying on him, he being prostrate. This, as may be supposed, is a very gigantic being, greater in personal bulk than any of the others.

[787] He never inspires any body, nor ever leaves

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

113

his situation. He has no house dedicated to him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself about; and, on such occasions, the people give loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who can go there and see?

Such is the account they give of their gods, and the respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and so universal, that scarcely any instance is known of downright impiety; and indeed they have very strong motives to keep them in proper order in this respect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

565 ways some purposes of ambition or enjoyment
 yet to be satisfied; and when death does come,
 761 it is rather to be wished for in the field of battle
 than prostrate on a mat, overcome with pain
 and disease, in the midst of one's friends and
 relatives weeping and lamenting.

773 The next subject in order to speak of, is the
 origin of the habitable earth, which, according
 to their notions, vague as they are, is as follows:
 —It is believed that originally there was no
 land above the water but the island of Bolotoo,
 which, like the gods, the heavenly bodies, and
 the ocean, has probably always been. One
 day Tangaloa, the god of arts and inventions,
 went forth to fish in the great ocean, and having
 from the sky let down his hook and line into
 the sea, on a sudden he felt a great resistance:
 believing that he had caught an immense fish,
 he exerted his strength, and presently there ap-
 peared above the surface several points of rocks,
 which increased in number and extent the
 more he drew in his line: the rocky bottom of
 the ocean, in which it was now evident his
 hook had caught, was thus fast advancing to
 the surface, so as to have made one vast conti-
 nent; when unfortunately the line broke, and
 the islands of Tonga remain to shew the imper-
 [823] fection of Tangaloa's attempt. The rock in
 which the hook was fixed was already above the

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

115

surface, and is to be seen to this day in the island of Hoonga, where they shew the very hole where it caught. The hook was in the possession of the Tooitonga family till about thirty years ago, when it was accidentally burnt along with the house in which it was kept. 773
[823]
[642]

Tangaloa having thus discovered land, by the divine influence of himself and other gods it was soon replete with all kinds of trees, herbs; and animals, such as were in Bolotoo, but of an inferior quality, and subject to decay and death. Being now willing that Tonga should also be inhabited by intelligent beings, he commanded his two sons thus*: "Go, and take with you your wives, and dwell in the world at Tonga: divide the land into two portions; and dwell separately from each other. They departed accordingly. The name of the eldest was Toobó, and the name of the youngest was Váca-aców-oóli, who was an exceeding wise young man; for it was he that first formed axes, and invented beads, and cloth, and looking-glasses. The young man called Toobó acted very differently, being very indolent, sauntering about and sleeping, and envying very much the works of his brother. Tired at length with begging his

* The following story is as nearly as possible a literal translation of the language in which they tell it.

773 time turned into a turtle, and was the origin
825 and source of all the turtle now found in the
world.

262 This story obtains almost universal credit at
784 the Tonga islands; in consequence, turtles are
[753] considered as almost a prohibited food, at least
very few will venture to eat them without first
offering a portion to some god, or sending some
to any chief that may be at hand: and there
are many that will not eat turtle on any ac-
count, being fearful of its producing enlarged
livers, or some such visceral complaint. It is
not supposed, however, to be so likely to have
a bad effect upon great chiefs, as they approach
so near in rank and character to the gods
themselves.

773 Such are their principal notions respecting
the origin of things. As to the first formation
of the solid sky (as they deem it), or the island
of Bolotoo, or the gods themselves, they pre-
tend to form no idea, and never think of agi-
tating the question, whether they are eternal,
or whether they had a beginning, deeming all
such speculations as vain and fruitless; for
who, say they, can remember, or who has been
[538] there to see? They have no legends or tales
[171] that seem to resemble those of the Society
islands, as related by Captain Cook.

823. Respecting the earth, their notion is, that it

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

127

has a flat surface, ending abruptly, which the sky overarches. If you ask them why the sea does not run over, the answer will be, "How can I tell? I have never been there to see; there are rocks, or something to border it, probably." With regard to the sun and moon, they pass through the sky, and come back some way, they know not how. As to the spots in the moon, they are compared to the figure of a woman sitting down and beating *gnatoo*: when the moon is eclipsed, they attribute the phenomenon to a thick cloud passing over it: the same with the sun. 823

Respecting the human soul, in particular, they imagine it to be the finer or more æriform part of the body, and which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; and it may be conceived to stand much in the same relation to the body as the perfume and more essential qualities of a flower do to the more solid substance which constitutes the vegetable fibre. They have no proper word to express this fine ætherial part of man: as to the word *loto*, though it may be sometimes used for this purpose, yet it rather means a man's disposition; inclination, passion, or sentiment. The soul is rather supposed to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart, the pulsation of which is the strength. 824

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

205

party, where an inspired priest sits at the head; 796
 the circumstances of inspiration we have already 276
 related, (Vol. I. p. 99.) and the form of serving 574
 out the cava when a priest presides, (Vol. II. 793
 p. 194.) The phrase *cava fucca egi* means literally, 787
a god-like cava. Laying a small piece of 769
 cava root before the grave of a chief or conse-
 crated house, out of respect to a god, or to a
 deceased relation, is called *toogoo cava*, and will
 be mentioned in its proper order.

Tow-row is an offering of yams, cocoa-nuts, 796
 and other vegetable productions to A'lo A'lo 782
 (the god of weather) in particular, and to all 821
 the gods in general, for the purpose of ensuring 776
 a continuation of favourable weather, and con-
 sequent fertility. This ceremony is first per-
 formed at the time when the yams are approach-
 ing maturity, in the early part of November,
 and is repeated every ten days for seven or
 eight times. On the day appointed by the
 priest of A'lo A'lo, every plantation on the three
 parts of the island, viz. the *hahagi*, *mooa*, and *hi-
 hifo** districts provide a certain quantity of yams,
 cocoa-nuts, sugar-canes, bananas, plantains, &c.
 all which are brought to the *malái*, tied upon sticks,
 so that each stick, when held horizontally, has

* *Hahagi* is the north end of any island; *hiihifo* the south
 end: the *mooa* part of the island being the centre.

823
 192
 109

512 with them to some distant part of the island;
 484 and whilst an entertainment is preparing for
 [517] them at the plantation of some friend or rela-
 tion, they amuse themselves at some game, or,
 perhaps, in inspecting the building of a canoe,
 or a large house, or examining the state of the
 plantations; or in sailing about, if near the sea,
 or in fishing; or in practising dancing and sing-
 [589] ing. In these excursions the unmarried women
 [462] generally accompany them. The married wo-
 men, and those who choose to stay at the *mooa*,
 in the mean time employ themselves in one or
 other of the occupations suitable to their sex,
 or, if their husbands make an excursion to an-
 other island, they usually take a trip with them.

512 The very young girls are generally employed
 851 in the early part of the day in making wreaths
 of flowers, which they have been out to gather
 in the morning before sun rise, while the dew
 was yet on them; for, being plucked at that
 time, they remain longer fresh.

823 Sometimes they amuse themselves with walk-
 ing near Licoo * where there are many roman-
 517 tic spots; at Vavaoo for instance they often
 103 visit the cave of Tootawi and the beach of Mo-

* Licoo is the name given to the back or unfrequented part of any island, which is generally bold and rocky, and not fitted for the entrance of canoes. Some parts of the Licoo at Vavaoo were particularly romantic.

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

337

fooe, places celebrated in the song p. 320. Concerning the person after whom the cave is named, it may be interesting to give the following account, which Mr. Mariner often heard from the natives. 823
103
[517]

A considerable time before the revolution of Tonga, when Voona was governor of Vavaoo, there lived at the latter place a *mooa* whose name was Tootáwi. He was a man of a solitary and reflective disposition; to indulge his humour, he would often take with him provisions and retire to the northern or unfrequented part of the island near Licoo, and there saunter about among the rocks and caverns of the shore for two or three days together. He was so much in the habit of wandering over craggy and dangerous places, that it was said he could climb rocks and ascend frightful steeps with a facility beyond the power of any other human being. On one occasion he was absent so long from the *mooa* that his friends were apprehensive some misfortune had befallen him; and they commenced a search, expecting to find his body lying at the foot of some precipice, down which in an evil hour he had fallen. No vestige of him, however, was to be seen; and after a long time spent in the fruitless endeavour to discover his remains, they imagined he must have been devoured by a shark whilst bathing, and with this reflection they returned

103

Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also island (V). Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Oloua island (V). Also tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Fainga. To persevere in being awake [fainga, to do with perseverance; a, to be awake]. Stone near Toula, village on Vavau island (V). One of two stones formerly standing at village of Toula. One stone has been destroyed. The two stones were believed to be the incarnation of the deities Sisi and Fainga.

[776]

[823]

Faloalalo. Lower Faloa [(see preceding); lalo, below]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Faloata. Inland Faloa [uta, inland]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

Falohomohe. The eating of supper [fal, performance, execution; ohomohe, supper]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Faipa. Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V).

Faltavale. To work without order [fal, to work; tavale, without order]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

[516]

Falte. The ancient sitting posture of Tongan women, which consisted of sitting with both legs partially under the body and flexed at the knees to either the right or the left. Beach and tract near Talafu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. The beach at Talafu (new tidings) is called Falte because here a woman sat in falte fashion when conveying news of the murder of the Tui Tonga Takalaua to his children. I have one record of the place name as Talafalte instead of Falte. The stem tala means "to tell"; hence the full meaning would be "to tell while sitting in falte fashion."

[173]

Faltoakalali. To scrape the bark of the casuarina tree and use it with water to dye the hair a reddish color [fal, to do; toa, casuarina tree; kalali, to scratch]. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasike, landlord.

Faltokalahi. Large burying ground [faltoka, burying ground; lahi, large]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofa, village on Foa island (H).

Faltokolahi. The performance or work of a multitude of people [fal, performance; tokelahi, multitude]. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Faltuunga. To make a foundation [fal, to do, to perform, to execute; tuunga, a foundation]. Tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Falulu. Ten stingrays [fal, stingray; ulu, ten]. Tract near Tefai, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Falvavale. Slimy stingray [fal, stingray; vavale, slimy]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Fakaala. Anything which looks best at a distance. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Fakaahotaha. To do a thing on one certain day [fakaaho, to do on certain days; taha, one]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuaotupapu island (NT)—Maata, landlord.

Fakaahuahu. To cause a great smoke, as a signal. Tract between Kolomaille and Tufuval, villages on Eua island (T). On this tract is situate the mound Pona-hiva and near it is the present race course. Perhaps the name refers to the great fire built upon the death of the Tui Tonga Tuitatui in Eua. The Tui Tonga's half brother Fasiapule, returning to Tongatabu island from Fiji, saw the fire and realizing that it must herald an event of importance, proceeded forthwith to Eua, where he learned of his brother's death.

103
173

Gifford—Tongan Place Names

107

- Hufangalupe. Refuge of the pigeons [hufanga, refuge; lupe, pigeon]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore. Also hill near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T). A hill on the shore of the great lagoon, where it is said pigeons were released to fly to Eua island. 103
- Hul. A bone. Tract near Vaimalo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Hulifouu. [Hul, bone]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Huihui. Thorny. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord. Also tract near Falehau, village on Niutoputapu island (NT).
- Huihuitalo. Lower Huihui [talo, below, beneath]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Hula. Bulged, distended. Tracts in and near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Hulaavale. The carrying of an insane person [hula, to carry anything large or bulky; a, of; vale, an insane person]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Hulahaapal. Pigs of a certain size from Haapai [hula, a term used for the second largest size in pigs; haapal, the central group of islands in the Tongan archipelago]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Hule. [Ohule, a shellfish]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore. Also fortress near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Captured and destroyed by Taufaahau (later King George I. Tupou) in 1837.
- Hulufe. A fern. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Hulupaongo. Dry leaves of the paongo tree [hulu, dry leaf which is sometimes used as substitute for banana leaf in making cigarette; paongo, a tree]. Cemetery on Lifuka island (H). Situated near southwest extremity of Lifuka. The cemetery is a high mound and is evidently the one described in Cook's Voyages, Everyman's Edition, page 269. It is the graveyard of the family of Matauvave. Bearers of this title were the Tui Tonga's governors and agents (matapule) in Haapai. An extant tale relates that the mound was formed by the throwing ashore of red clay by a multitude of people who were washing their heads with red clay in the nearby sea. 823
- Hulumasi. Dry leaf of the masi tree [hulu, dead and dried leaf; masi, a tree]. Tract on Lape island (V).
- Huni. Name of a tree. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Houma—Vaea, landlord, Utulau, and Nukualofa. Also tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Hunival. Huni tree near the water [huni, a tree; val, water]. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akaula, landlord.
- Hunivao. Bush huni tree [huni, a tree; vao, bush, woods]. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akaula, landlord.
- Hunga. Turned towards. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Ahau, Foul, Matahau, and Nukualofa. Also tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract on Fotuhaa island (H). Also island (V). Also tract and hill on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord. Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Hungaspatu. Turned towards the Muscovy duck [hunga, turned towards; patu, Muscovy duck]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Hungahaapal. Turned towards Haapai [hunga, turned towards; haapal, the central group of the Tongan archipelago]. An island of western volcanic chain lying northwest of Tongatabu.

- 103 Kitekihaamea. Rock on Eua Island (T). A great rock "like an axe" said formerly to have stood in Eua. The name means "visible to Samoa." The Samoans were displeased at the visibility of this rock from Samoa. They therefore came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which it was easy for the people to secure pieces from which to make axes. Previous to this stone axes had not been made in Eua. The base of this rock is said to be visible on the weather shore. The Tongan name for the rock, which is hard, is toamakahunu. It is described as similar to rock from Tofua and Kao, two volcanic islands, and is said to be of various colors: black, white, yellow, and red.
- [173] Kito. Island (H).
- [823] Kitu. Island (V).
- Kiu. The plover (*Charadrius fulvus*). Tract near Fataulus, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Kiumoeveka. Plover and rail [kiu, plover, (*Charadrius fulvus*); moe, and; veka, rail (*Rallus pectoralis*)]. Tract on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Kiutaki. To lead in running [kiu, to run; taki, to lead]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu Island (V).
- Kivikivi. The name of a shellfish. Tract near Fotua, village on Foa Island (H) —Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Koahokaimoa. The day of eating chicken [ko, prefix; aho, day; kai, to eat; moa, chicken]. Rock (T). Formerly in entrance of lagoon of Tongatabu Island, on west side of Nukunukumotu Island.
- Koakele. Muddy foam [koa, froth, foam; kele, muddy]. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau Island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Koane. Corn, grain. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Koefa. The pandanus [koe, the; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Houma, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Koekoli. The koli tree [koe, the; koli, a tree]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Keemel. The breadfruit [koe, the; mel, breadfruit]. Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.
- Keesi. The si shrub [koe, the; si, a shrub]. Tract near Taosa, village on Vavau (V).
- Koetou. The tou tree [koe, the; tou, a kind of tree]. Tract in Lotofoa, village on Foa Island (H).
- [173] Kofakahaangatoma. The place where she showed off [ko, the; fakahaanga, place; toma, to show off]. Place (H). A place in the Ahanga ford from Lifuka to Uoleva where the daughter of Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, slipped and hurt herself. Hence the name.
- Kofatelesail. Where there is a small dreary passage [kofaa, where; teles, dreary passage; sail, small]. Tract on Kao Island (H).
- Kofe. Bamboo. Tract near Obonus, village on Eua Island (T). Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu Island (T): near Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Hamula—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.
- Kofinekaheamanu. The woman with a necklace for toothache [ko, the; fine, woman; kahoa, necklace; manu, toothache]. Rock (T). Rock formerly in entrance to lagoon of Tongatabu, on west side of Nukunukumotu Island.
- Kofutoo. To wrap and carry in the hand [kofu, to wrap; too, to carry in the hand]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Kohekoli. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau Island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- [173] Kohi. To scratch. Place on Eua Island (T), where mythology says Maui thrust a stick into the ground.

TALES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

538
773
823 Tales accounting for the location of certain islands are commonly current in Tonga today. A number of islands like Tanoa, mentioned in the preceding tale, are described as portions of other islands that have been removed by thievish gods and dropped in their present position. Certain rocks are said to be transformed people who usually made the transformation to escape a pursuer or because of chagrin over failure to accomplish an undertaking. Other islands are said to have been brought forth by a goddess.

171
(538)
[773] The episode of gods stealing the top of a mountain but dropping it upon the approach of dawn occurs also in the Society islands in reference to a rock near the island of Eimeo. The following paragraph⁷⁰ with Tongan names substituted would describe the episode as it repeatedly occurs in Tongan tales:

"They entertain a high idea of the power of spirits. In the beautiful and romantic view of Taloo harbour the remarkable peaked mountain is said to be but a part of the original one. Some spirits from Ulietea had broken off the other half and were transporting it down the bay, in order to carry it away with them, but, being overtaken by the break of day, they were obliged to drop it near the mouth of the harbour, where it now stands conspicuous as a rock; for, like the elves and fairies of our ancestors, these spirits walk and work by night."

539

THE ORIGIN OF ISLANDS

THE ORIGIN OF TANOA ISLAND⁷¹

This story is about the little island of Tanoa which was formerly situated in the middle of the lagoon of Nomuka and which a god named Haelefeke, from the Otutolu islands where he lived, came and stole from the middle of the lagoon.

He started to take it to the Otutolu, but as he came opposite Fonoifua island, Tafakula went and turned his anus from the direction from which the sun rises. When Haelefeke saw the light from Tafakula's anus in the east, he thought the sun was rising and dropped the island and ran away. That is how the little island of Tanoa comes to be standing beside Fonoifua.

For another version of this tale see pages 86 and 87.

[113] ⁷⁰ A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson, page 335, 1799, London.

⁷¹ Told by John Hafoka, of Nomuka island, Haapal.

As they voyaged on the two friends, Kae and Longopoa, began to ponder where they were going. Suddenly Niuafoou came into sight and they informed Loau: "Here we are opposite Niuafoou." Loau answered as hitherto: "It is well, but let us sail on past the shore." Next Uea was sighted and they informed Loau: "Here we are opposite Uea." He answered: "It is well, but let us sail on past the shore," and they travelled on, until suddenly Futuna was sighted and Loau was informed: "Here we are abreast of Futuna." He ordered thus: "It is well, but let us sail on past the shore." 539

On and on they sailed, entering a red sea. "Here we are in a red sea," Loau was notified. He gave his customary answer: "It is well, but let us sail on." So, on they went, until they entered a sea where pumice was floating on the water. Loau was informed: "Here we are in the sea of pumice," but he only replied as usual: "It is well, but let us continue on our voyage." Next they entered a white sea and Loau was informed. He replied: "It is well, but let us sail on." They journeyed on and came to the horizon. Loau was told: "We have arrived at the horizon." He now stood up and looked about him, but again he gave instructions to continue the voyage.

As they travelled along they came to a great whirlpool at the end of the sky. That is where the waters go when the tide is ebbing in Tonga, and when the tide is flooding the waters return from there. There stood at the edge of the whirlpool a pandanus tree and a large stone. Loau now instructed his men to guide the double canoe straight into the whirlpool. The double canoe sailed along and entered the center of the whirlpool. Longopoa jumped for his life and clung to the large stone. Kae jumped too and clutched a branch of the pandanus. They remained there until the day drew into night. (823)

Kae then said to Longopoa: "I shall swim, for why should we remain here, since Loau and our friends are surely lost. Let us find a means of escape." "Yes," said Longopoa, "let each shift for himself." Kae immediately jumped into the water and swam away, but Longopoa remained for awhile.

At midnight Kae landed on a sandy island. As he reached the shore he discovered lying there a large man-eating shark (*tenifa*), a smaller shark, and a whale, all dead. As Kae arrived there nearly dying of hunger, he pinched off some large pieces of flesh from the carcasses and lay down and ate them. After he had eaten he slept. This island was the dwelling place of a huge bird called *kanivatu*, which fished for the animals that Kae saw dead on the shore. Early the following morning the *kanivatu* awoke and preened its feathers preparatory to flight. It thereby awakened

Gifford—Tongan Myths and Tales

155

ngahi fonua koia. Oku ui fakatonga ko Fehuluni; oku ui fakahaamoa ko Moso; pea taha kehe hono ui i Fisi; ka ko Tui Haatala ia.

Ko enau tamai koe Tui Haatala, pea koia nae uluaki mahaki mo enau fae, pea toki matemate taha ki mui hange koia kuo osi talanoa ki ai.

Pea koe mokopuna tokua o Hikuleo ae fanau koia, pea talu ai moe ikai ke toe i ai ha Tui Haatala, ngata i he tangata nae alu ki Pulotu. Koe anga fihī o enau mate, ka mate e pea fakanofo e, pea mate ia pea hoko leva e. Naa nau pehe pe. Pea koe Tui Haatala nae alu ki Pulotu nae ngata ai. He kuo alu kuo osi fakanofo, pea nae ikai tokua ke toe fakanofo ha taha; ko ene alu pe tae mate pea te ne toe foki mai. Pea faingataa ke too mai he kuo ne foki mai ka kuo ikai lava ke tangata, he kuo tanu hono angaanga. Koia nae talu aipe.

Pea oku i ai foki haane ngahi mea fakaeonoaho; ko hono lahe koe fuu maka, aia ko ete foa ia o te navu oku hange ha lahe kuo tao.

Samoa, and from there he went to Fiji. And he is seen at these islands, but he is never seen at Eua. And he is called by different names in the various islands. He is called by the Tongans Fehuluni (To move about); and he is called by the Samoans Moso; and he is called by another name in Fiji; but he is still Tui Haatala.

His father was Tui Haatala, and he and their mother were the first to die, and then they (his brothers) died one after the other as has been stated.

And they were the grandchildren of Hikuleo, and since then there has been no more Tui Haatala, the man that went to Pulotu was the last one. The way of their death was perplexing, one died and another was appointed, and he died and another was appointed. They were just like that. And the Tui Haatala that went to Pulotu was the last. When he went he was already appointed, and it is said that none were appointed after him; he went without dying and was to return. And it was difficult (for another) to take (his title), because he had returned but was unable to become a man because his body had been buried. And it has been so ever since.

And there are also some things about by-gone days, his (hair) lime is a big stone, which if chipped and made into a hair wash is like cooked lime.

THE BOAT THAT WENT TO PULOTU¹⁰⁰

This is the story of the gods that went to Pulotu (the unseen world, the land of the departed) in a boat. There was one god whose name was Haveatoke (Slippery Eel), another whose name was Fakafuumaka (Like-a-Big Stone), another whose name was Haelefeke (Octopus-Comes, or Walking-Octopus), and the last one's name was Lohi (Lie). These four embarked in their boat and paddled away with the intention of journeying to Pulotu.

As they were passing a part of the coast not far from their starting point a goddess named Faimalie (Take-Care or Perform-Fortunately) was standing on the beach. She called to them: "Why are you coming here and where are you going?" The gods in the boat told her that they were going to Pulotu. Then the goddess cried: "Come here and we will all go together."

¹⁰⁰ Translated from the tale as published in Tongan in the Catholic magazine *Koe Fafagu*, volume 4, pages 48-53, 65-68, 73-76, 86-88, 98-100, 1906. The recorder of this tale was Father Francis Roulleaux Dubignon; the raconteur was Tongavaleale; the Tongan title of the tale is "Koe Talanoa kihe Vaka nae alu ki Pulotu." Translated by Mr. W. H. Murley.

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539 the baskets got rotten and Faingaa and Sisi fell through to the ground, only to find that they had been grossly deceived.

Some time after they managed to get hold of Pasikole again and made him do their bidding. One day they decided to paddle in a canoe to Samoa. They ordered Pasikole to make the boat ready. He did so, but took the opportunity of hiding some garlands of flowers and sweet-smelling leaves in the stern of the canoe where he thought he would sit to paddle. They started, Faingaa in the bow, Sisi in the center, and Pasikole in the stern of the canoe.

After they had paddled for a long while, Pasikole bedecked himself with the garlands unbeknown to his two enslavers who had their backs to him. Suddenly he remarked that he saw some fish and at the same instant he dived, ostensibly for the object of capturing some. When he rose to the surface, he kept out of sight of the other two by hiding under the stern of the canoe, where he remained for a long while. Then he dived again and came up between Faingaa and Sisi. They expressed astonishment at his being down so long and returning adorned with garlands. Pasikole explained: "I have been down at the bottom of the sea. There were many people there holding a great feast and entertainment. They were so pleased to see me that they decked me with garlands. I should not have returned so quickly, but that I thought you would like to go, too."

The other two immediately expressed an ardent desire to see the entertainment that Pasikole had been to. Then continuing, Pasikole said: "Well, if you go, I must attire you properly, so that you will be presentable to the people at the bottom of the sea." To this they consented and Pasikole set to work and bedecked them with his garlands, but in such a manner that their hands and feet were tied. When he had completed the job to his satisfaction, he told them to stand so that they might all dive together. They did so, but Faingaa and Sisi, being bound, were unable to swim, whilst Pasikole climbed back into the canoe and returned to Tonga a free man.

[823] Sometimes on a dark night large shining patches are to be seen, seemingly at some depth, beneath the sea. These are said to be caused by Faingaa and Sisi struggling in the water trying to get to the surface. To [861] this day Tongan mothers endeavor to quiet their fretful infants by saying, "Naa, naa, I will tell Faingaa and Sisi to come to you."

538	'Alu atu au he hala,	I went along the road,
555	'Oku tukua ai e tuinga kakala,	There was left there a string of sweet
539	'Ave ia mo'o me'a, he koe tui fananga.	flowers,
		Take it for so-and-so, for he is the
		believer of tales.

The phrase *tui fananga* (believer of tales) is said to be the correct rendering, and not, as I was inclined to interpret, *tu'i fananga* (king of tales, king of story-tellers). Another expression of similar import is, *Koena e kie koe*, 'ave ia mo'a me'a, he koe tui fananga (There is the mat yonder, take it for so-and-so, for he is the believer of tales). Perhaps the whole thing is merely a jocular letting-down of the tension of one who has believed too implicitly and been too deeply interested in the tale. So-and-so ought to have a prize, he is so good a listener.

538 There is said to be a kind of formula for finishing the telling of a tale. When the story-teller has finished his narrative he says *fananga*, to which someone replies *isa*, which usually is used in disapproval.

538 The man of less scientific culture outstrips his more sophisticated fellow
823 in peopling the clefts and the hills, streams and trees with uncanny spirit folk. Gifford (21, 22) has recorded a number of the poems and tales of Tonga which are attached to various localities and dwells upon the beauties of the Tongan's native land. The number of such tales is probably countless. Those here given are a few additions to Gifford's collection.

183 Tonga, composed mostly of low coral islands, is almost devoid of surface running water. There are underground streams in Tongatabu and Vavau, but with the exception of a small river, Niutoua in Niua Toputapu, the only surface streams on the inhabited islands are on Eua, which has several streams and little waterfalls. The rarity of rivers doubtless makes them
[103] the object of greater value and interest. A tiny rivulet on the weather side of Eua has no less than four different names at different parts of its diminutive course from the forest to the sea.

Eua rises boldly in two great terraces to a height of over a thousand feet, the forest giving way on the uplands to open rolling downs. On the sheltered side of the island, where a stream flowing through a fairly deep ravine enters the sea, is a little bay, the main anchorage of the island, but difficult of access when the surf breaks heavily on the reef at its mouth. In some places on the weather shore, great cliffs drop abruptly to the sea; in other places, the land falls sheer to a wooded plain about four hundred feet below. Seaward, the plain is terminated by lofty cliffs. To the south, the tiny islet of Kalau, fringed by surf, is a silver-encircled gem in the tropic seas. This island, cut off from the mainland by deep sea, presents a surface of romantic grandeur and beauty unusual in these isles, and as the tradi-

tionary locale of many of the exploits of Maui, is rich in features to which are attached the names and tales of historical and legendary beings. 183

Vavau, to the north, another picturesque island, and one rich in legendary lore, is a land of beautiful wooded hills, rising to a height of 500 or 600 feet, with entrancing views of coast line and the clear emerald and blue tropical sea. On one side of the main island, islets fringe the deeply-indented shore, forming a harbor of singular loveliness, whose bays run far into the mainland and between scarcely separated islets, with everywhere the luxuriant greens of tropical foliage coming right to the water's edge.

STORIES CONNECTED WITH PLACES

TUUTAKI IN EUA

Gifford (22, p. 101) has related how the warrior Tuutaki, after defeating 589 in battle his wife's relatives, was pushed by her over the edge of a cliff, 823 in Eua, as he was drinking. The scene of his death is still pointed out. A small ledge of rock overhangs the cliff, at the foot of which is a little wood, between the cliff and the sea. Tuutaki sat resting after the labors of battle on the projecting ledge of rock. He struck the handle of his spear, of the sort called *taomataua* (double-pointed or double-faced spear) into the rock beside him. The hole he made is still to be seen, named for the spear, Taomataua. The tree on which Tuutaki was impaled when he was pushed by his wife from the cliff edge was a nutmeg (*kolone*), and the red sap of the nutmeg is called *toto-o-Tuutaki* (blood of Tuutaki). [103]

In a cave at the bottom of the cliff at this part of the coast is a rock which is held to resemble a canoe with people in it, and is called *Vaka Fisi* (Fijian-canoe). This is reputed to be the very canoe which was on its way from Fiji to attack Eua, but was deterred by the sight of Tuutaki impaled in the tree. The Fijians, ignorant of the fate of Tuutaki, supposed that he was waiting in the tree to give them battle. The way to this cave is difficult and dangerous, impracticable to all but skillful climbers, and the magnificent scenery is a fitting theater for the exploits and deaths of heroes. A belt of open grassy land, level, or gently sloping from the forest behind, fringes high cliffs, in some places rising sheer from the sea, but below Taomataua is a little wooded opening. In this opening is the stream *Veefefe*, which sprang from the shattered drinking-vessel of Tuutaki when he fell. Still another site associated with Tuutaki is *Matapa-a-fefine*, (Woman's gate). On high ground inland from these places are to be seen the remains of the trenches of a fortress which Tuutaki, supported only by his wife, is reputed to have held against a foe of vastly superior numbers. One gateway the hero left to the woman to guard, while he guarded the others. [824]

MAUI IN EUA

539 Gifford (22, p. 21) has told some of the exploits of the Maui as related
 823 by the Tongans, and has referred to publications in which other of these important traditions may be found. Tregear (34) has given an admirable summary of the Maui legends throughout Polynesia. Within Tonga, Vavau and Eua are most closely associated with the Maui. On Koloa, an island of Vavau, is said to have been a temple and priest of Maui. On Eua are at least three topographical memorials of the hero or demi-god. Umu si a Maui [103] (Maui's si oven)¹ is the name of each of two prominent little peaks in different parts of the uplands of Eua. The origin of both peaks is ascribed to Maui's having made an oven there. (There is always a heap of earth, ashes, and stones on the site of an earth oven.) Smaller knolls round about are said to be dirt that Maui threw out in digging his oven.

A still more impressive memorial of Maui is a great steep-sided depression near the weather shore of the island, opening out to sea through a splendid rocky archway, into which surge and foam the ocean breakers. This fine piece of coastal scenery is said to owe its being to an angry gesture of Maui Kisikisi. Maui's mother remonstrated with him for being lazy, and doing no gardening; whereupon he seized a digging-stick and set to work so vigorously that he shook the whole island. The mother again remonstrated, and Maui, exclaiming in angry disgust, "Will nothing please you? Want to be barren, want to have children," hurled the digging-stick far from him. The stick, falling where the depression referred to now is, shot out through the solid rock of the cliff into the sea, leaving hollow an archway as impressive monuments of Maui's strength. (See 13, p. 211.)

HINA IN EUA

103 Takinanga-o-Hina is a pleasant open grassy space at the top of the cliffs, where it is said that Hina used to spread out to dry (*tataki*) her bark cloth. This is typical of a large class of names. Many localities are known as the *fala* (mat) of such and such a chief or legendary personage. These *fala* seem invariably to be level grass or sand.

716 Hina is the constantly recurring heroine of Polynesian story, sister of
 538 the Maui, bride of Sinilau, associated with the moon and shark (p. 20). I
 823 have heard no reason for the association of Hina's name with this locality, but the fact that Eua was regarded as one of the residences of Maui might associate Hina with the island. Hinatuafuaga, sister-wife of Tokilanga-fonua, King of Eua, both of whom came from heaven to Eua, is connected with the shark-god (15, p. 376). Krämer (26, pp. 11, 12) describes [823] Nafanua as the daughter of Hinatuafuaga. Takinanga-o-Hina, with its

open outlook upon the sea, may have suggested association with the rising moon. 776
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OTHER STORIES OF EUA

Kaufana was adopted by his contemporary, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho, 539 who was murdered in the year 1799. (See 28, vol. 1, p. 81.) Kaufana successfully resisted the blind old king Talimalolo, who was chief of the fortress Tutaki, and notoriously cruel. Talimalolo constantly ordered people to be put to death, especially those who showed energy and initiative. Kaufana, therefore, who belonged to the chief's family, removed with some of the people and founded the fortress Hehu. One day Manumua (so named because he was born at the time of night when the bird *manumua* commences to sing) came from Talimalolo's fortress on a friendly visit to Kaufana, who detained him, and would not let him return. War resulted between Kaufana and Talimalolo, and the blind old despot was defeated. By this victory Kaufana made himself master of a large part of Eua. Although he saved Eua from the cruelty of Talimalolo, Kaufana himself was harsh and tyrannical. One of his methods of torturing prisoners was to cause his attendants to urinate on their wounds. Besides military prowess and valor, Kaufana had some measure of the constructive ability that seeks to increase the amenities of life. He supplied his dwelling with water by means of a race from the stream Vaiangana. [55]

On the weather side of Eua were Fangata and Halafata, two villages or fortresses, now deserted. Fangata was the fortress of the noted warrior, Kaufana; and Halafata was situated just below. During a war between the two villages, the men of Halafata used to insult Fangata by stooping down and presenting their posteriors to the rival fortress. One day, as a Halafata man was making this offensive gesture, a Fangata marksman avenged the insult by shooting an arrow which penetrated the victim's anus and stuck out of his mouth.

Lakufaanga (Place of throwing hala) is immediately at the top of a great cliff falling sheer into deep sea. Here once lived Tuakauia and his family. They ate fruit of the hala and threw the inedible hard cores into the sea. The turtles in the sea at this place now are Tuakauia and his family, and if hala fruit is thrown over the cliff, with appropriate invocation, the turtles come to the surface and eat it. The invocation is a couplet: 539
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Tuakauia and family
Receive the gifts that are sent.

It is a matter of observation, however, that the turtles are not always responsive.

823 Ungako, is a circular, rock-lined hole, inland in Eua, about 30 feet
 539 deep and 10 feet in diameter. A lip of stone projects above the level of
 the surrounding ground, being higher on one side than on the other. It
 is in fact a large limestone pipe, in general appearance not unlike the
 823 shell of a huge *ungako* (one of the shellfish found in Tonga). This hole
 716 was the abode of a maleficent spirit, who had a priest in the neighborhood.
 539 The spirit probably was the *ungako* himself whose shell this was sup-
 posed to be.

Faitemolau (a woman sitting and talking) is the name of a rock. The
 823 sitting posture of the Tonga women is called *faite*. The story is
 539 that a priest named Topono, whose house site—a rock-faced single
 terrace—is still to be seen, was annoyed by the upbraiding of his wife.
 She was sitting one day near, or on, a rock, complaining to him, till he in
 exasperation shot at her, missing her but hitting the rock, in which he
 made a hollow.

539 Prominent trees are named from stories. In Eua is a toa tree (*Casuarina*)
 552 called Hiva A Kofe, which seems to mean either "singing of Kofe" (a
 proper name), or "singing of bamboo." Another toa tree is called Faka-
 malu o Katea (Shade of Katea) beneath whose shelter a woman named
 Katea, overtaken by labor among the hills, gave birth to her child. A look-
 out tree (*niu vakai*) on the uplands of Eua is called Fotu-a-Fae (Fae
 appearing).

STORIES OF TONGATABU

539 Umutangata (Meal of man) is a locality in western Tongatabu, near a
 823 branch in the road, one branch going on to the village of western (*hihifo*)
 [103] Tongatabu, and the other apparently to the village of Fahefa, on the
 northern, or weather, shore of the island. It is said that the Tui Tonga
 and his entourage were on their way from eastern (*hahake*) Tongatabu
 to the western district of the island, and, as they journeyed, came to the
 pool named Touia, between the villages of Foui and Masilamea, and turned
 aside to bathe. Near the pool was the garden of a warrior named Hauuta,
 who behaved offensively to the chiefly party. He was dressed only in a
 plantain leaf, and he kept turning himself so as always to present his
 posteriors to the chiefs. Moreover, when they sent to ask him the name
 of the pool, which was in reality named Vaileua,¹ he falsely replied that
 it was called Haulefe,² which the Tui Tonga regarded as an insult. So the
 party did not continue its journey to Hihifo, but turned off and went to
 Fahefa. Hauuta determined to follow, and further insult them. So he
 evacuated his bowels in the road, wrapped up the excrement, and took it,
 and smeared the place that was prepared for the travellers to sleep on.

When the chiefs returned to the house they noticed the stench, and the Tui Tonga remarked that this was the work of the man they had seen at the pool. In the morning he sent a messenger bidding the man come to him at once; but Hauuta, disobeying the summons, collected his men, and set to work with them clearing the side of the road that led from Fahefa. Thus, whilst ostensibly working, they were able to command the road. Hauuta's orders were, that if anyone came along the road who belonged to Hihifo, he must not be molested; but if anyone came from the party of travelling chiefs' he should be taken and killed. A man came along the road, and then a second; but neither of them belonged to the Tui Tonga's party. Then a third came, one of the Tui Tonga's men. Him they slew, and carried away; and when they had heated an oven they baked him, and it is said that he is still being baked. So that place is called Umutangata (oven, or meal, of man). 539
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Pot-holes in some rocks at the extreme west of Tongatabu are ascribed to a Tui Tonga, who stood there giving his commands, and who, as he uttered his behests, kept smiting the rock with his staff. On another part of the coast of Tongatabu is a hole in a rock where the legendary hero Tui Motuliki, son of Sinailele, drove in a stake to which to moor his boat.

On the sea flats near Hofoa, in Tongatabu, is an isolated rock, considerably eroded at the base, called Moa (fowl). It is said that a fowl and a turtle (*fonu*) ran a race on the flats. The fowl was turned into the rock, and the turtle was turned into a pool a short distance away. 539
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THE POOL HAAHAU

Haahau is a little pool in Felemea, in the island of Uiha in Haapai. This pool was a love gift from a god, or spirit, of Eua to a woman of Felemea. The god ordered the well to be dug close to a chestnut tree (*ifi*, *Inocarpus edulis*). It was covered with the shell of a *kema*, and the god warned the people that whenever they drew water they should carefully replace the shell when they had finished. This was always done, until, in more recent days, people said that covering the well-mouth with the shell was merely a piece of old-time foolishness. So the shell was thrown away; but after a few months the water, which had been perfectly sweet, became bitter, and has remained so ever since. At times the water is red, a sign that the woman of long-ago, to whom the well was a love gift, is about to give birth to a child. 539
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THE WELL VEEMUMUNI

The well¹ Veemumuni in Vavau once belonged to a spirit. Nearby was the garden of a man, and the spirit used to lift the stone with which the

599 well was covered, and sit at the water's edge, watching the man at his
 829 work. One day the man noticed the spirit, and approached the well, but
 779 as he drew near the spirit disappeared into the water, and covered it with
 the rock. The man returned to his work, but presently he saw the spirit
 again sitting at the water's edge. He approached, but once more the
 spirit eluded him. This happened three times, and so the man knew that
 the stranger was a spirit. Then he took off his turban and girdle of
 leaves, and put them on a tree to make it look like a man, while he crept
 round to the place toward which the spirit had turned his back as he sat
 by the water. Presently the spirit came to view again, and the man
 sprang upon him, and held him fast until he begged for mercy, and
 promised to give the man his well. Since then the well has been un-
 covered, and the stone with which it was covered is still left lying beside it.

THE CAVE TAPINGAAMAMA

539 Tapingaamama (Human affairs, manners) is the name of a cave, in
 829 Tefisi in Vavau, through the walls of which there is considerable soakage.
 779 Two spirits, or demons (*tevolo*) live there, one being a *toke* (eel). A
 829 stranger once left his *vala* (kilt) in the cave while he went to bathe, and
 103 when he came back he found the *vala* folded up with a rat inside it. The
 266 rat also was a *tevolo*, presumably the second spirit of the cave. Many
 people are said to have been lost through the cannibals who lived there.

RELATIONS WITH PULOTU

ROAD TO PULOTU

775 Gifford (22, p. 153), has published a number of stories relating to
 journeys to Pulotu, abode of Hikuleo and of the souls of chiefs, an island
 somewhere out to the northwest, in which are Pukolea (Speaking-
 puko-tree) able to confer limitless favors, and the Vaiola (Water of life),
 into which it would seem that the souls of the dead were plunged, rising
 thence with eternal freshness and vigor. But, besides the far-off mystical
 island, there is another Pulotu, the Underworld, which is reached by jump-
 1829 ing into a crevice, or into the sea. Several localities are mentioned as
 Hala ki Pulotu (Road to Pulotu) which, like the jumping-off places of
 souls throughout so large a part of Polynesia, have a general westerly or
 539 northerly outlook.¹ In the first and sixth of the stories that follow, the
 779 hero plucks up a reed (*kaho*) with which the entrance of the road to
 775 Pulotu is closed. This detail of the reed is found in the story of the
 824 visits of Maui Atalanga and his son, Maui Kisikisi, to the Underworld,
 Lolofonua, during the time that they were living in Koloa, one of the

islands of the Vavau group (14). The Underworld from which the Maui came, and to which they returned, is not, however, spoken of as Pulotu, but simply as Lolofonua. In the Tongan Creation Myth, indeed, Pulotu, the realm of Hikuleo, is distinct from Lolofonua, the abode of the Maui. (15, p. 276).

In Tongatabu, the road or a road—to Pulotu is said to have started from a spot called Haalako, on the weather shore near the village of Foui. This part of the coast faces to the west, and is in the western part of the island. One account would seem to make a pool (*pupu*) the actual entrance to the road, while another account says that the dead go to the water's edge, and jump into the sea. Down below there is said to be a great cave. Before going down to the water's edge the dead tear off a branch from the shrub called uhi (according to Pratt, *Evodia hortensis*) and presumably take the branch with them. This would seem to be the meaning of the expression *haaki ae uhi*, though possibly it might mean to pull the shrub up, or throw it down. In Haapai, however, the plant so used is not the *uhi*, but the *toa* which is so sturdy a tree that tearing off a branch is the only likely meaning. A road at Niuaunono, the north-western point of Tongatabu is named from a clump of coconut trees, according to native tradition where the traveller to Pulotu plucks up a reed, *kaho*. The *uhi*, which is *namu tevolo* (smelling of spirits), is one of the most potent of medicinal plants for curing demonic possession, and for preventing the wandering of ghosts from the graves of the dead (10, pp. 137-139). Thus it may be conjectured that the newly dead take branches of this shrub as a protection against the spirit dangers that await them. An old man told me that he remembered hearing in his childhood the expression "Kuo haaki ae uhi e sii eiki" (The poor chief has broken off the *uhi*) used in connection with a chief who had just died. He added the detail that at the time he heard a noise like that made by a whale beating the sea.

In Eua, which lies a little south of the extreme easterly point of Tongatabu, the road to Pulotu is said to commence in the sea between Eua and the tiny islet Kalau, just off the southern end of Eua. In Haapai the road to Pulotu seems to start in the crater of the volcanic island of Tofua, which, with the splendid cone of Kao standing close beside it, forms the western extremity of that group. "Kuo haaki ae toa" is said of the soul which makes its way to Pulotu by jumping into the crater of Tofua. Toa trees are planted about many cemeteries, though not by any means confined to such positions. They are "chiefly" trees, well suited to adorn any road or compound to which it is desired to give an aspect of nobility.

539 Eua, but found no one there; then he went through eastern Tongatabu,
 773 but without success. So he came through middle Tongatabu, where were
 775 ten handsome men, but he chose none of them. Then he reached western
 Tongatabu, and went on to the village of Haatafu, which stands at the
 end of the island. There he stood at the entrance to the village, and thus
 expressed his hopes, "This is a beautifully situated town; if its position is
 so fair, how much more the people who dwell in it."

So he entered the town, and, hearing shouting, went and stood before
 the house whence the noise came. Looking in he saw the chief Loloma-
 tokelau seated at a game of *lafo*. Straightway he entered the house, and
 greeted Lolomatokelau, who returned his greeting,⁶ and asked why he had
 come. And Ofamaikiatama replied that he had been through the whole of
 Tonga seeking a plant for medicine for his child, and so at last had come
 to this part. Then Lolomatokelau congratulated him on his coming and
 getting medicine, and he and his men provided kava, and they drank kava
 together. When this was finished Ofamaikiatama thanked them for the
 kava, and said that he would go with the medicine for his child.

● [529] So he departed, and pulling up the reed at Niuaunofu he entered
 Pulotu,⁶ and going straight to Lolongovavau told her to come with him,
 for he would get a husband for her in the world. "How can we escape
 from this place?" asked the maiden. But the man stole the life-affecting
 fan (*I Taumoui*) of Hikuleo, to fan to sleep Pukolea and Akautalanoa and
 Pulotu. So they went up to the world, and Ofamaikiatama left the girl
 in Lolomatokelau's compound with the fence of eight crosspieces, and re-
 turned himself to Pulotu.

Now Lolomatokelau had a pigeon named Mahuamata (Full of eyes)
 kept in the compound, and the pigeon cooed to tell her master about the
 maiden. Straightway Lolomatokelau waked, and called his younger
 brother, Lulutalihala, to go and see why the pigeon was cooing. The
 brother went, and brought word that there was a lovely maiden there, who
 was stringing a necklace of hala. So Lolomatokelau went, and kindly
 greeted her, and bade her come with him. Then lifting her up he carried
 her, and called his men and his sisters to come and hold joyful festival,
 for Lolongovavau was in the compound. So they ate together, and the
 two were married.

[607] In course of time Lolongovavau became with child, and bore a son,
 who was taken and cared for by her husband's sisters.⁷ Now when the
 handsome men (*kau manaia*) of mid-Tonga heard that Lolomatokelau and
 Lolongovavau were married they sent word to him to come and join them
 in the sport of dart throwing (*tolo*). He told his wife that he would go
 to the game, and that if he did not return she would know that he was

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

103

STICK AND KNIFE

A player held a stick in one hand and struck it with a knife, repeating ⁵³⁹a rhyme. If he timed his strokes correctly he struck 15 times during the ⁵²⁴recital of the words.

Toki mo toki fekau mai e motu'a toki

Hatchet and hatchet send here e, an-
cient hatchet.Ke ta e toki ta ke fiha, ta ke hongofulu
ma nima kauka.To strike e, then strike how many?
Strike to ten times and five, kauka.

From these words it would seem that, before the advent of steel knives, ^[412]a stone hatchet was used in striking the stick.

POEMS RELATING TO PLACES

A very large class of poems celebrates the scenic beauties and interesting ⁵³⁹localities of Tonga. Gifford who has published a number of such composi-
tions (21, pp. 5-19; 22, pp. 91-95), says, "the feeling for the beauties of ⁸²³nature is one of the marked cultural characteristics of the Tongan people." ^[538]

Following are several more examples of this class of composition; but it is a class to which additions are being made constantly. Although special interest attaches to many of the pieces of the older bards, the native muse is as vigorous as ever. Localities and events are being constantly celebrated. Towards the end of 1911 I met a remarkable old blind bard in ⁵³⁹the tiny island of Fonoifua, Haapai, whose population numbers only about ⁵³⁸35 souls. He took his band of singers into the little native built church, ⁸²³dimly lit by hurricane lanterns, and led them in the singing of his own ^[361]compositions, pieces of haunting sweetness. Later in a dwelling, they sang ^[373]a poem celebrating a concrete cistern that had been built on the top of the ⁵³⁹little hill in the center of the island. This cistern doubly deserved the honor ³¹²of poetic celebration in that it was the first of its kind in that part of Tonga. ⁵³⁸and boasted the added glory of a pipe which brought the water from the ⁵³⁸cistern to the village. I do not know the old blind bard's name, nor have I any of his pieces, but would pay him this small tribute of recognition, for his airs are among the sweetest that I heard in the islands.

THE ENVIRONS OF NUKUALOFA¹

Wind from the back of Koloa,¹
Beat upon the anchorage of canoes;
Come let us praise Nukualofa,
Let us go up at Tongataeapa,²
And ask in the homes of the chiefs
Where perchance is Onemalama?³
There stood a hala alone
On the mound Puamofefinea,

Near the pool Finenaakakala,
Where creeps the *uningie* of the shore.⁴
The wild duck cry
Put to flight by the noise of the kava.
Come, let us leave Veitata,⁵
We shall go up at Tukungatokelau,⁶
Faletuuloto and Vakahahau,
And the pool of the fish that was buried.

539
823

539 There are things that are hidden from
me.
823 For 'tis the praise of a man of Vavau.
When the wind is south I shall go,
And feel my yearning at Anamanu.
The moon's glow as she swims [up from
the sea]
Lightens the row of chiefs' sacred com-
pounds.
On to Vavau: return again rather
Lest Veimusieua be forgotten.¹
Toatuuloto, the compound Napua,
And Vaokahikahiuta.²
Where his mind has been hidden.³
Malaeloa at the seaside.⁴
Burying ground Faletuipapai.⁵
Pulepulekai stands on the landside;⁶

My poor heart is confused
For there is nothing still known,
At the hill Tupouveiongo;⁷
Felemaka on the land below.⁸
Farewell, we shall go,
For I long for Mataloko,⁹
Ngalulahi and Sisilouango.
I stood on 'Tatauao'lo"
And gazed at Falefilimoto.¹⁰
Laughter of the women plucking
kingano
On the weather-coast of Haafuluhao.
There has my fond heart stayed,
And my body alone has come;
Tears fall at this distress,
Dear, how much greater than thought
Is the grief that would not stay.

VAVAU AND HAAPAI

(Attributed to Falepapalangi)

Hoto 'ofa talai ki he matangi;
He me'a koa he hua 'o hai,
'A etau nonofo he fonua ni?
Sani mai e fanga ko Kei-tahi,
Moe'ongo 'o Tausisi-vavaki—
Kohai koa kei lata ai?
Ke hange koe otu Ha'apai,
Ka havili pea fe-ngalom-aki,
Ka malu pea fe-kiteng-aki.
Tau vakaia siene fetaki,
Hange ha hua fe-ilong-aki.
Amusia Lofia 'i Vai-lahi,
Na'e tulekina 'e he ohu afi;

Pea tau mohe 'olunga kia ai.
Tau ki Paluki ki he Kasi-vaki,
Mohe kia Lou-pua ki Pangai.
Hengihengi pea fe-langa-aki
'Ae fefine 'oka tangitangi,
Toli 'ae siale 'oka mapaki,
Tui pea tau kahoa ki tahi,
'O mamata he vaka papalangi,
Pea moe taulanga tongiaki.
Ka funga Toka leva e matangi
Pea fanongoa mei loto'a

Kuo peaua e loto fanga,
Faka-namuli kuo kaina.
Te tu'u 'i Alai-muitoa
Pea ulualo mai e pua
'I he funga vai 'i Veli-toa.
Hange ha kumi 'oku fofola
'Ae tu'u 'ae Tongo-leleka
'Oka teitei to e la'a

My longing is told to the wind;
Is it a thing in which on: may joy,
That in this land we abide?
Fair beckons the strand of Keitahi,
And the wave-beat of Tausisivavaki—
Who is there content to stay here?
Let it be like the isles of Haapai,
In the storm-wind one hidden from other,
But in calm they appear to each other.
Let us see their dear clasping of hands,
Like the joy friends take in each other.
I long for Lofia in Vailahi,
Its crest was stooped o'er by the fire
smoke;

Let us go and sleep on the summit.
Put in at Paluki at Kasivaki,¹
Sleep with Loupua at Pangai.²
At dawn go early together
The women, when flowers are opening,
Pluck siale when blossoms are drooping,
Plait it, and to the sea we go garlanded,
And see the ship of the white men,³
And the harbor of sailing canoes.
When the wind blows direct from Toka⁴
From the chief's compound you straight-
way shall harken

To the waves in the midst of the strand,
Fakanamuli where people are gathered.⁵
I shall stand in Alaimuitoa
Where there comes the fragrance of pua
From the water in Velitua.⁶
Like a cloth that is laid outspreading⁷
Are the mangroves of Tongoleleka.⁸
When the sun is near to its setting

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

105

Pea hama e niu 'i Lifuka;
'Oka taulomaki e tonga
Tepa he mo'unga 'o Tofua,
Mo Tohona-kao kuo kaina.

Beams glance on the palms of Lifuka;
When the south wind blows full swelling
Look aside at the mount of Tofua,
And Tohonakao that is peopled."

539
823

IN PRAISE OF VAVAU

(By a man of Tonga)

I indeed thought it a pleasing thing,
The fair fame of Vavau the beautiful.
In calm the mists lie peacefully,
Then the gull of the lower isles ranges
far,
And comes to land at Keila in Taunga,¹
To Tapana, and sleeps at Motuha.²
Morning winds fan the surface of Hunga,
And tossed about is the huni in Pautua.³
Vaihingano—come, let us leave,⁴
The ascent of Veafakanuia,⁵
The place of lovely Kavenga;
Ah, our vaunt falls on things of the land;
But we shall not tell of olden times;
Respond Flock-of-pigeons, tell Faleula,⁶
Siaafafine, Kavafakaua,⁷
Tonga and Pulotu, tell Talukua;⁸
The stone Siaki on the crest of a hill,
Alokilafulu the banyan tree,
Tuifeletoa, the great stone
Like black cloth in a bundle⁹
In the midst of the gardenia of Folaumo-
hutala;¹⁰
Talaheu, and eke Ulunipuaka.
I stand in Feletoa and see

Toafaoava appearing afar."¹¹
When joyous the north wind turns,
Then the leaves of the trees are scat-
tered,
The leaves of hala and ngahu,"
And the leaves of *hingano* in Anamanu."
Yet—lest the tale be spoilt by unbelief;
But I myself stand apart
That I may harken to the poem.
The mound of Kafoa is spoiled,"
Tongatabu hath jested too far.
Yet what is a wound given in sport?"
"Tis fair to fall in battle,"
Is that a thing that shall tarnish?
But shall we not go on a voyage,
Journey in Tonga, then shall I return
And see the house in Neiafu?"
If it leak let us flee to Ngaakau,
To the clump of bush Lahakau."
When voyagers are gathered there,
Then they and I shall be pleased to-
gether.
My praise is ended whilst still 'tis seemly,
Lest a man of Vavau upbraid,
For he knows that I am of Tonga.

WEATHER COAST OF VAVAU¹

Dear wind that blows from the west
On Kaho and the back coast of Hunga;
Blown about the *siale* and *pua*,
And it scatters the face of the land.
Recall the road of the *puko*; let us leave
The toa sighing on the Falaovuna.²
Hear the roar of the reef Tofua,
Confused noises from Fakatetua.
Hard by is Mata-ki-Niua,
And the sea stretching out from Houma.
The landsman made a complaining³
When he saw my two fishing-rods,⁴
And the baits on them both had been
taken.
My hook decked with red birds' feathers⁵
Is thrown to a beautiful woman.⁶
The bonito comes nearer to shore,

Towards the mid-strand Paepaeua;
Ah me, what ill-fortune,⁷
I have wandered, O Cave of King-fishers.
Ask of the headland of Tele
Siasiki, where it may be?
Kaunimasini o'erhanging,⁸
Makao and the Pool of Pigeons;⁹
Holoni lies scattered at random,¹⁰
Wave-washed, with no fruit of its pains.
The bonito going on to the east,
Seeking food out seaward from Tave,"
Going down at Hilinga-kofe,
Turned about at Potuitoume."¹¹
Tell the women
To weave the lauhala and *siale*,
Plait a garland of *pipi-hela*,¹²
To adorn me for the ocean.

VAVAU¹

539
823 Ah me, how intense the yearning,
Ah, the surging of remembrance
Of the lower isles of Vavau,
A land so excellent in beauty,
The theme of all praises.
When in the morn the mists lie
A hundred hills are hidden,
Kafoa and Aloitalau,^a
Tuanuku and Teleki and Fau.^a
Come, let us sleep at the mound of Pau,
Awaking go to Utukalongalu.
The sea bird is wearied seeking bonito *e*,
Minetuingofua *e*,
Amusiaetua *e*,
Fonongatua *e*,
My longing for Maluhola *e*,
There my longing is calmed;
Taliatuavale and Hiva,
And Ahokaifonu, the little pool.
I stood on the mound of Fifita,
Looked forth to the mound Umeavela;
The mist lies on the line of mounds;
Olotapu and Taliua,
In the distance the launching place of
canoes.
I pity the sea bird's weary cry;
Overtaken by night at Finemaukava,^a
Sleep at Maungahavea,^a
Paleamote and Kalae.^a
Let us go down to Likuone,

Uha and Kawai and Lovele.
Farewell, I shall go *e*
To the mounds of song *e*,
To Hikutaifangafanga *e*,
That is Fukotokanga *e*,^a
Standing with Fukomafa *e*,
To Fakatoumamana *e*.
Praise, I shall return—
Makatoa, we go down Keitahi,
And sleep at Utungongotai,
Waking, on to the downs of Lavaki;
Small Mataloko, Great Mataloko *e*,^a
How unworthy the poem *e*,
Come and harken to me *e*,
Whether or not thou art of Vavau;
Another mayhap has excelled this poem—
I shall tell them at random,
And roam the line of headlands *e*.
The wave of surf riding *e*,
Sisilouango *e*,^a
Tataualo *e*,
Fine-touhingano *e*,
The weather-coast of Matoto *e*,
And Hilinga-kofe *e*,
Vaimasiniake *e*,^a
Potuitoume *e*,^b
Hunukangalupe *e*.
Friend let us return *a he*,
For I am a stranger—lest I wander,
I am wearied of descending and climbing.

WEATHER COAST AT SELENGA¹

Ta hifoa Koate na,
Malama e taulaki penepena,
Fili kita pe ko fe nai ena—
Ko Ta'i-he-unga mo Mahina-e'a.
Ko Ana mo Kau'atu ta hakea,
Moe otu sia ka tofalea;

Kitaua ka pongipongi lupea

Ka ta naka heu elito'i hea.

Ahe'ia. Kau ka moko ange
Ta hifo ki liku 'o tou siale
Kakala nanamu ke tui tavale.
Hopo 'i Nukuhi pea hakehake—
Feangai e esi moe mala'e,
'Oka fakapapau fakava'e.
Ahe'ia. Kau ka anaua
Fasi Lou-toko, Toko-langa-ua,
Ngalu Lahi pea mo Maka Tefua,

Go we down Koate yonder,^a
Where in beauty from the sea.^a
Gleam the bathers; who are they?
'Tis Smite-the-crab and Moon-appearing.^a
Ana and Kauatu we ascend,
And the pigeon mounds and the hunts-
men's huts;^a
Ourselves on a morn when the pigeons
come
We shall wield the net with hea wood
frame.^a
Ahe'ia, when I'm wearied with sport^a
Let us pluck gardenia down by the sea,
Careless entwine the fragrant flower.
On to Nukuhi, and go up—
Gods' acre hard by a turf seat—
With a mind that is set on pleasure.
Ahe'ia, when my longing is stirred
For the surf of Loutoko, Tokolangau,
Big Wave and Single Rock,

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

107

Ngalu Loa moe Toloa ene puna.
Amusia e me'a taufonua,
Na'e heke he otu ngalu ni fua;
Mo kima'utolu mate nolo'uta.

Long Wave and Duck in its flying.
Envied is the man of that land,
Where they glide on all these waves;
We are tired of our inland dwelling.

539
823

PUTUU AND MALOLOUO

A fragment of an old poem, of which the five last lines are lost, is written in praise of various localities, perhaps high places near or on the coast whence fine views could be obtained. Of the places named Gifford lists Sikula, Hikumoku, Puha, Putuu. Sikula is mentioned as being the name of places in Haapai (two occurrences) and Vavau, Hikumoko in Vavau, Puha in Haapai (very close to one of the Sikula), Putuu, Tongatabu. Doubtless there are other occurrences of some of these names. It is impossible to say where the places mentioned by the poet are; so far as there is any favoring of one part of the group it would be the island of Foa, in Haapai, in which there are a Sikula and Puha. This preponderance in favor of Foa is so slight as to be practically without significance.

539
823
103

Putu'u mo Malolo-'uo,
Ko Puha mo Hiku-moko e,
Faka'aunga ene hoke,
Koe va mei Fine-taka-pe e,
Sikula mei 'uta,
Moe toa ko Tavake-aulua e;
Manu e ki mai,
Ko Si..... fekai e
(Four lines missing).

Putuu and Malolouo,
Puha and Hikumoko e,
Bay with its sounding [sea],
Laughter from Finetakape e,
Sikula inland,
And the toa Tavakelua e;
Hither comes the sea bird's cry,

POEM OF VEEHALA'

539

'Tis a thing that hath no end,
The talk and inquiry of me.
Fear hath arisen in me,
And, despairing, is aye my remembrance
Of this body of mine, so sweet.
That is joined with mention of death.
Were there a crime to be discovered,
Or a thing that I had taken
That is being steadily sought—
But how should one forget?
Matamoana, still haunted of pigeons,
And the Sacred Reef, where still are fish?
Whoe'er is of wise understanding
Goes early at the waning moon;
The rod is set on the handle
Because of the rising bonito;

The oar strikes vainly the waves
Striving to row in haste.
Alas, woe is me!
What amaze is mine
In this thing of nought much talked
about.
If it were put in a boat she would sink,
Were it on a tree it would fall.
Would I were a war vessel
Cruising the distant main,
Hearing not the report
Of the book left in Hihifo
By the generation that was wise.
'Twas done in the way of the foolish,
And, lo, it has come in the assembly.

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

117

O'er the face of Nuku has thunder
sounded."

In the channel [bonito] have eaten their
prey,

They have dived below at Holoavaka,"
[The fishers] have scored at Matafota."

Let us paddle about in Vainoa,"

Let us follow on in Hopohoponga,"

And Nimaafuaatu here into the shallow." 533

Cease from the chase in Peauapuaka—" 539

Alas and alack, this bonito is vanishing,

The headland of Late is left behind;"

From Tama yonder have they gone on"

To Upeupe to let them go.

But count, the reef has fruitful been.

SONG OF FISHERS¹

Come, let us praise, O southern wind
The trawling ground, that ye may know,
Telekivavau and Telekitonga,"

Fetokopunga and eke Lalona."

Tatohofa has pulled in fish"

On the night when the moon's first risen
at dawn;"

We shall paddle along by Matafau,"

Houma-tau and Fonuaika.

The little fish swim hither and thither,"

We steer about, and no success.

At early dawn to Nonuku and Naa,"

To windward have gone the little fish,

When the *vals* goes over them he is
pulled in.

The little *ulukau* have come to the top."

The fish is lost, but 'tis the current.

Near is the night of the *palolo*."

Come, let us chase o'er Auhangamea,"

And sleep, and trail the line.

Return, the little fish is *memea*."

Valu and *ulu* are brought on board."

Remember the night *mauna*."

We shall trail the line to Toamotua,"

In this space [the fish] look at the prey."

We pursue to Luahoko ere dawn."

For the little fish show everywhere.

At Ofolanga let us go to sleep,

Let us trail the hook from the west.

"Tis a day when few are the little fish—

Good luck that we have remembered,"

Let us seek at Puke and Faleovalu,

For our hook [with its burdens] is
broken.

PRAISE OF BEACHES

A note at the end of this piece says that it was to be performed *tutau-533*
hoa, that is, with men and women standing alternately, or with two rows, 539
a dancer in the front row having another standing immediately behind. 535
823

The poem celebrates various beaches and other natural features on the
coast of eastern Tongatabu. The text, which is not reproduced as there is
little to learn from it, shows the greater smoothness, and less force, which
are the fruit of European education. It belongs to the latter half of the
nineteenth century. It is divided into nine stanzas, with a chorus, sung
after every stanza.

Give heed to me, our festive throng,
I shall tell the row of beaches,
The gathering place of the fleets of boats
When they plan to meet together.
I shall praise the strand Longonoa,
When the calm evening falls
Like a bird with fluttering wing
The dear shade of the crest of the land.
Strand Tukulolo we shall praise,
Alakifenua and Hilatali,
The dear standing of the great banyan
tree,"

The Shade of Fulilangi.
I shall praise the strand of Leolava,"
A thing of all to delight the gaze,
Like the deck of a boat that is crowded
Dear stand of the town that is pleasing."
I shall praise our sacred beach,
Early morn of a dewy night
A thing most lovely to me
Is to gaze at Kolongahau,"
That is hid in clinging mist,
Like a chief's head crowned with lime.
I shall praise the strand Metevae

533 That lies spread hither and yon,
 534 A thing most lovely it is,
 535 Its dear standing shame-faced,
 823 Like a wrong-doer discovered,
 Ensnared by its loveliness.
 I shall praise the strand Foiaka,
 In the place of Niutao the pleasing,
 Sweet *sunufea-ni* with its blooming,
 And the smooth white sand with its
 gleaming.
 I shall praise the eastern strand,
 The quarreling (waves) of the *Taua-*
fanga;
 Best of all beautiful things
 Is to stand and look towards 'Oreva,
 Which dear appears in the mist
 Like a face upturned with smiling.

I shall praise the strand of fragrant
 flowers,
 And the standing of Motu-tapu;
 Lovely it is to me
 When the wind is fair from the north,
 Like the sounding of a flute
 The dear murmur of swaying palms.

Chorus.

Youth, let us pace the dance,
 And dance in unison;
 And look upon our line of strands,
 Lovely its appearance.
 Aye, youth, let us dance,
 And dance in unison,
 And look upon our line of strands.

SONG OF FRAGRANT FLOWERS

533 In this poem occur words for many of the different plaits and ways of
 534 making up leaves and flowers into necklaces and girdles. To a greater extent
 824 than among Europeans are plants and flowers prized, not because they are
 pretty, but because they are fragrant. Each of the six stanzas is followed
 by the chorus.

Harken to me my countrymen,
 This praise of mine of heart of Nua.
 When it is evening I remember
 In love the fragrance of its odors.
 It is known by whoso knows this land,
 Sweet-smelling garlands the food I seek.
 Harken to me, O gathering,
 And I shall speak my tale
 Of our headlands of fragrant flowers,
 Whither resort our wanderings.
 The *tuituu* and *lavalava*,
 Twine the *nusipalataha*,
 Like an army in array;
 Lifted up is the *lalaheilala*,
 When merit is reckoned it is first,
 See the thing that goes in beauty.
Fakaotusia and *alomea*,
 The armband of a rambling man.
 My *fakalotu* twined with *langakali*,
 Sweetly smelling from its sleep in sea
 water.
 It fills the space beneath my pillow,
 And robs the mind of reason.
Hingano the lower in a double plait,
Keevee and *tuituuvaoo*,
Pa'anga-pulupaki, gardenia strung to-
 gether,

Faka-mata-moana is the wild *huni*.
 When the dew falls I am crowned with
 a garland,
 To be fragrant as day is at hand.
 Thou who art stranger come and see,
 When the flowers are opening on fragrant
 shrubs,
 The headland with its blossoming
 Is the thing of all most pleasing.
 Plucked and strung on a ribbon's length,
 Fluttering in the wind the girdle's
 streamers,
 Then it fills with the pride of beauty,
 And most lovely is to me.

Chorus

Maiden, the wind is in the south,
 Come dancing hither,
 And blows on the pool *Latai*,
 Come dancing hither;
 Let us turn to the town of faded gar-
 lands,
 And fealty step our dances,
 And pluck the *huni* and *langakali*
 To wreath our necks in this assembly.

NOTES

Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis*; the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulese* is known to me.

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *houiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe*, flowing water (river); *vai-tapu*, springing water (spring).

Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *raro*, *lalo* (ao), down and west.

Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as *Ofamaikiatama*.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.

4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; *Mamani*, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, *Ofamaikiatama* says "*Malo e maimoa*" (Malo the game), and *Lolomatokelau* replies, "*Io, malo e fononga*" (Yes, *malo* the journey). The word *malo*, sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives Niuaonofo as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

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599 19. Kanakana is a pool in Teeki, western Tongatabu, where dwelt the god
 (822) Tutula, or Haelefeke, who appeared in the octopus (*faka*). Besides the advice to
 (716) Falepapalangi to go and find a pool and the trees as subjects of his verse, there seems
 (825) to be the idea also of finding a god to be the patron of his muse.

20. For *ai* (almond tree), *vai* (water, pool) may be read as a variant, and instead
 of *ao* (two), *ao* (there). Without knowing just what is referred to there is no way
 of choosing definitely between the various possible readings. The man may be repre-
 sented as speaking to someone in Hihifo "who knows," and asking "Where is that
 almond tree, or pool that you people talk about?" or as asking "Where is the double
 almond tree, or double pool?" Two pools, or two trees, close together, would make a
 sufficiently conspicuous land-mark to be noted, and *ao* is probably the correct reading.

Pages 67-69. A poem of Falepapalangi

599 1. A chief sometimes gives his kava to someone of lower rank than himself,
 276 usually as a reward for services rendered. This bestows on the man to whom the
 514 kava is given the right to clap and have the cup brought to him when the chief's name
 (565) is called. This privilege is transmitted from generation to generation. The hypothetical
 (465) charge which Falepapalangi is considering is that of having brought to him in the kava
 (428) ring a cup which has not been so given to him, a much more serious usurpation than
 599 merely draining off a cup of someone's else drink.
 (716)

2. Falepapalangi seems to claim having borne off the prize, probably against
 Mamaeapoto on some specific occasion when the King was present. There is a possi-
 bility, however, that he refers to his poetical skill as a heaven-sent gift of the gods;
 Tangaloa is the lord of the heavens. It is in keeping with the spirit of Tongan poetry
 to consider all the possible meanings and allusions as more or less involved.

3. Kafa and Talau are hills in Vavau. That the hills had fallen means that
 Vavau, in the person of Mamaeapoto, had been defeated in poetical contest, and, as a
 Tongatabu man, Falepapalangi turns the tables on Mamaeapoto's assertion that the
 Tongatabu poet has neglected the beauties of his own land to abuse the poet of Vavau.
 Falepapalangi contends that he, the Tongatabu poet, has not been unmindful of the
 claims of Vavau to commemoration; that his rival has mentioned to him places in
 Tongatabu that might be visited for poetical inspiration, and in his retort infers that
 he knows and is quite willing to celebrate Mamaeapoto's land.

4. Meaning "We were in complete accord about the charms of Vavau."

5. The king, the Tui Kanokupolu, and those connected with him, are called
 (644) *hao mohefo*. Mohefo is the daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, who was taken as the
 (192) principal wife of the Tui Tonga. *Mohe* in *mohefo* is not the same root as *mohe*,
 (644) sleep (compare with *mohefo*, the Samoan *masiofo*).

6. Pangai is the court of the Tui Kanokupolu, or the place where this king holds
 (192) his court and great gatherings.

7. The word *lika-toto* is used of an inland place that is precipitous and has the
 (192) appearance of the cliffs of the weather coast. It is proverbial for that which is not
 what it seems.

8. The term *faka-vavau* (Vavau fashion) is proverbial for talk that is boastful.

9. "Hiding and squeaking" is used of that which hides, but reveals its presence
 by noise. Here, apparently, it means lying low and uttering plaints hard to understand.

10. This metaphor is from the game of *lofo*. The raised edge of the mat on which
 (524) the pieces are thrown is called *kaukau*; players were able to make good use of this,
 as a billiard player makes use of the cushion. *Futa kaukau* (pride in the raised edge)
 is pride over a successful shot due to the mat rather than to the player's ability. Hence
 it indicates boasting of what is due to extraneous circumstances rather than to skill.
 Evidently Falepapalangi refers to an occasion on which Mamaeapoto has defeated him.
 Possibly the themes of the poets on that occasion were their native lands, and Fale-
 papalangi means that Mamaeapoto's victory was due to the scenic superiority of Vavau
 to Tongatabu rather than to the poet's skill.

11. Perhaps a living dog, or perhaps merely a way of saying that the matter be
 (825) left to one who is good at following up clues. A dog was prominently associated with
 (716) the worship of the god Pulutukatoa in eastern Tongatabu.

12. The theft is Mamaeapoto's claim to seamanship.

13. That is, the place where people sit and talk on deck, as distinguished from the
 working part of the ship. Falepapalangi says that Mamaeapoto wants to leave the

599 but containing a pun, the name meaning Man-who-believes-stories), or if anyone nearer home likes it let him have it."

Page 73. Falepapalangi

- [127] 1. There are many obscurities in the details of this poem, some of which might have been cleared up had a second text been available.
- [538] 2. It is not clear what is meant by exchanging poems. There might possibly have been an arrangement for performing each other's pieces which was not carried out. It may be a sarcastic reference to a claim of Mamaeapoto that they were equal in poetic skill.
- [538] 3. Mamaeapoto is in the entourage of strong chiefs.
- [538] 4. The two poets sought conquests amongst the women in separate districts, and the inference seems to be that, in their art too, they had better confine themselves to separate spheres or districts. The *Feleave* in the text seems to be an islet in the west of Tongatabu. The *siale* and the *hangole* are taken as typical plants of the two districts.
5. The meaning seems to be that "right from the commencement of our rivalry I showed myself a man of real achievement, while you have uttered nothing but foolishness; and whereas those foolish efforts of yours have proved futile, my poems have never lost their power to please."
6. Possibly there is a secondary meaning—make love.
7. To end. Besides the obvious meaning of engaging in the sport of snaring pigeons there is the meaning of winning the favors of women, who are frequently referred to as *lupe* (pigeon). He sarcastically tells his rival that he will get sweet-hearts for him and his party, as they have not much freedom to do anything for themselves.

Pages 73-79. Song of Tukulua

- 539 1. Nothing seems to be known of Tukulua beyond this poem, which was composed during the poet's illness.
- 76 2. *Huni* and *siale* are names of fragrant plants.
- [538] 3. A slight enendation of *hotou* to *hoto* would give "my" instead of "our."
- [763] If the text is correct, it means the boat that ultimately bears us all away. This line and the one following may be a general reference to his own past life, his days of health and happiness, or there may be something of a belief that the fortunes of his ghost ship, even in the days before his illness, were parallel to his own. But probably this should not be pressed. Through it all is perhaps recollection of the days of his strength, when even though the storm raged and his mainsheet was snapped, yet he could bring his boat safely through to land and embark his "dear desire," his sweet-heart; or that he could win through all hazards because he had her with him on board.
- [824] 4. Onevao is an islet off Tongatabu; Niutao is not identified. Evidently both places are associated with pleasant experiences.
- [823] 5. Thunder and lightning are frequently mentioned as presaging death or disaster.
- [763] 6. *Pulotu 'aka'aka* should possibly be translated "widely ramified Pulotu." The word *'aka'aka* is regarded merely as an epithet of Pulotu, but the Rev. James Watkin says: "Bulotu *tete*, Bulotu *aka'aka* and Bulotu *tuumau* are the names of the Tongan three heavens." Watkin was in a better position to gain information than any inquirer can be today.
- [821] 7. Land of light (*mama*) is applied to the world of mortals, and to mortals themselves.
- [772] 8. The *heilala* (*Gardenia* sp.) is one of the plants used in the sweet-smelling wreaths and garlands. Leaf girdles are frequently hung at the head of graves, and are then called *tapu kakala*.
- [824] 9. Pebbles, with which graves are adorned. *Fatailangalanga* is the name of an unidentified place.
- [769] 10. The reference means "Do not only give my body honorable burial, but also speak kindly of me." "Character" is *anga*. It is possible, however, that *anga* is an old word no longer known among Tongans, meaning "spirit." Compare Samoan *anganga*, thought, a disembodied spirit (32); Niue, *anganga*, the soul, spirit (35); Hawaiian, *anaana*, a prayer used to procure the death or curse upon one; witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and kindred meanings (1); and the well-known Tongan word, *angaanga*, corpse.

539 Pulotu into three departments, is it not possible that Pulotutuumau, which the poet regards as the destination of the Tui Tonga, may be a pleasanter place than Pulotuakaka, to which Tukulua refers with evident repugnance. There is always the possibility of simply descriptive epithets being applied to the same Pulotu.

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643 12. In *ari-hau*, attendants of the *hau* (king), it is interesting to have a clear example of the application of the word *hau* to the Tui Tonga. *Hau* indicates kingship, lordship actually manifest in power and rule, rather than chieftainship which is the prerogative of birth. In the later days of the Tui Tonga, when his power was becoming gradually overshadowed by the growing might of the Tui Kanokupolu, the word *hau* was more often used of the more powerful king, and on occasion even of other chiefs who happened for the time being to have won preeminence through military virtue.

539 13. As Vavau is the northern group of the Tongan islands, evidently the king's road to Pulotu takes him in a generally northerly direction. It is possible, however, that this is an echo of the Vavau that occurs so widely in Polynesian tradition as one of the stopping places in the migrations. Since the attendants rejoice when Vavau has sunk out of sight, it is to be presumed that they rejoice because they have entered on the last stage of the voyage to Pulotu. It is difficult to say whether the king is regarded as having already made the voyage to Pulotu, or as being about to make it. The only indication of time is given by *ka* in *ka maliu*, which usually marks future, or indefinite time. I have not heard a period assigned as elapsing between death and the departure of the spirit; but the *tapu* on a house in which a death has occurred is removed by sprinkling water in it a few days after the death; bodies of great chiefs are kept unburied longer than those of common people; funerary *tapu* for some high chiefs were kept in force for as long as a year; occasionally bodies were kept unburied for months, even for years, apparently as a mark of special affection.

539 14. Following *ho he* in the manuscript is "etc." Apparently there were other syllables in the refrain.

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643 Pages 79-81. Koe Takipo o Nau

1. The opening lines refer to scenes pleasant in the life and friendship of Nau.

2. The *takafalu* is a tree. The hard and Nau used to sit in its shade.

3. This reference is not very clear and many interpretations are grammatically possible.

766 *Tuoua* and *fiuupalavau* are the names of two kinds of mats, but may be the nicknames of two children who used to run in and out and ask to be taken to the sea to bathe. Or perhaps it is meant that Nau used to go in and out of the canoe house. Possibly Nau is the subject and reference is made to two children who used to ask to be taken to bathe. Or all the lines may refer to Nau, though why she should desire to be carried to bathe is not very clear. Still there are stories of chiefly girls who were not permitted to walk, and such stories must have some basis in fact. The difficulty of interpretation is not lessened by the fact that instead of *fafa* (both *a's* short), the word may be read with the last *a* long, as in fact it is marked in the manuscript, and the meaning is then not "carry," but "grope, feel." When so many interpretations are grammatically possible it is impossible to decide without some information about Nau.

4. Koloa, an island and village of ancient fame. The Maui are said by a very good informant to have belonged originally to Koloa, but the exact relations of the names Vavau and Haafuluhao apparently are not very clear to modern Tongans.

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539 Pages 81-82. Ulamoleka's poem on the death of Veainu

1. Makaunga is in Eua. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were together in Eua when the news of Veainu's death reached them.

2. Two different types of waves.

[36] 3. Ohonua is the head village of Eua. A deep gully (the "vale" in the text) runs down beside the village, and opens into the sea, forming a little boat harbor. [50] Frequently boats are weather-bound here by the heavy sea running on the bar at the harbor mouth.

[55] 4. The reference is to Veainu. Finemua is a name for Falepapalangi.

5. Hunga is two steep, lonely rocky islets about twenty miles north of Tongatabu. Ulamoleka expresses distress and dismay at the death of Veainu, which was not unexpected when Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka left Tongatabu for Eua.

of omen is evidently the fact that Falepapalangi is so ill that he can no longer do as he likes, but has to be very careful.

11. It is not likely now that the events referred to in these lines can be ascertained. Matamoana is a place name, one locality so named being a mound (*sia*) in Hihifo. Papavao may be a name, or may indicate some beaten level place in a wood. Tuihalafatai was the name of a Tui Kanokupolu who died in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Halafatai is the name of the weather coast (*lihu*) at Kolovai in Hihifo, Tongatabu. The flats (*toafa*) are the shallows along the northern coast of Hihifo.

12. His title to fame was not as a cultivator of the soil, nor as a planter of kava (the plant valued amongst chiefs, and whose successful cultivation set the seal on a man's skill as a gardener), but that he was known as a man who wandered from place to place, a man of the road, amusing the chiefs with his songs. Maafu and Ahomee and Ata are chiefs; Uhi and Mafi Motuapuka are *matapula*.

13. The picture is of a man entering a house where Falepapalangi and others are sitting, chiefs being present, the man bowing as he comes in and takes his place. He wishes to give Falepapalangi his leaf-girdles, a sign of his appreciation of the bard, and throws it to him across the front of those sitting between him and Falepapalangi, but his aim falls short.

14. Mapachingano is the nickname of a chief. The *mapa* and the *hingano* are valued plants.

15. Tonga is standing, secure, but the loss, the grievousness, is his own fate.

16. The "mutual liking" is either of Falepapalangi and his choir, or of the chiefs and Falepapalangi and his choir.

17. Reference is to the songs of Falepapalangi and his singers on a voyage to Vavau, Haafuluha. When they reach Vavau the wind goes round to the south (*tonga*) that is, word comes from Tonga that he is to return to attend the Tui Tonga and his principal wife. The Tui Tonga used to be carried about in a litter.

18. The wealth is probably the right given him by a great chief, Fuhifalohala, to sing before him. Fuhifalohala (cluster of hala) is a nickname for a chief, quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu, or perhaps the Tui Tonga. But since Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa are *matapula* of the Tui Kanokupolu, he is in all likelihood the chief indicated.

Pages 84-86. The voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

1. The expression *tavatava-i-Manuka* in the original, means "whisper in Manuka." The exact translation of *tavatava* is uncertain, though it is said to mean the name of a woman, wife of Tongafusifonua, who lived in Manua in Samoa. When the Maui arrived in Manua in search of the hook with which to haul up lands, the woman who loved Maui Kisiiki imparted to him the secret of which hook to select. When the Maui made the right choice, Tongafusifonua exclaimed "Who has '*tavatava-i-Manuka*'?" meaning "Who has betrayed the secret?" The expression is proverbial for telling that which should not be told (15, No. 3, p. 278; 17, No. 367; 28, vol. 1, p. 228, where the land-fishing is ascribed, not to Maui, but to Tangaloa).

2. The mat, that is, the virgin or bridal mat presented by the virgin bride to her husband. Ulamoleka says that for the first time, he learns, forsooth, that the mat is a very high chiefly one, that is, that the girl is a very high chieftainess, too high for him to espouse.

3. Ulamoleka, appropriately to a navigator, clears away the tapu on account of his words in the preceding lines, which may sound presumptuously to the unseen powers, by propitiating the stars. Aloua is a star name.

4. Ulamoleka commences something about himself, the great navigator, clever at finding lands; but breaks off to tell the girl she can do as she pleases to Tonga, repressed of course by himself.

5. Niutoua is a little stream in Niua Toputapu.

6. A navigation metaphor is here used "The poet will seek another charmer."

7. Here there is more than one strand of meaning. When the rejected suitor goes on his new love errand the girl will not know to whom he has gone. Possibly there is the idea that she does not know how high his lineage is; he refers to his lofty descent later. Again the Niua Toputapu girl does not know how great are the ladies who have not despised his love. And he goes on immediately to refer to another aspect of the aspersions against his birth. He is thought a man of no great birth because he works so hard, but the great Louu did not disdain to work.

- 599 8. The incident of the land-fishing of the Maui is introduced to lead up to the
584 work of Loau, and also as an instance of where even gods did not disdain work of just
[776] the kind that Ulamoleka himself is doing.
9. Loau (12, pp. 177, 178; 22, pp. 71-75) is remembered as the one who divided
the land among the various chiefs, and left ordinances about the kava, and kindred
matters.
10. Poukula is in Hihifo in Tongatabu. It is said that an axe was left there by
Captain Cook. To be like an old axe is proverbial for what is worn out and in-
efficient.
11. To be understood as relating literally to Ulamoleka's skill as a fisherman, and
figuratively, to his successes among the ladies.
- [502] 12. The Hifofua was the canoe of the Tui Kanokupolu. Her crew were all picked
[644] men; quite possibly chosen literally in the manner indicated, by skill and strength in
dart-throwing. Ulamoleka is the captain of this fine body of men—and yet this girl
has the assurance to regard him as too old for her. Again, later in the poem, is a
reference to another allegation against him, namely, that he was without accomplish-
[555] ments. A man to be a member of the King's crew must have had in no mean degree
[524] at least one valued accomplishment of athletic youth, namely, dart-throwing.
13. This address is made probably to the girl by Ulamoleka telling her to trust
for his merits to the favors he has received from women in many places. Places are
mentioned where he has had sweethearts, some of which at least are the abodes of
great chiefly families.
- [823] 14. The land side of the road and the lower (sea) side, are very important divi-
[565] sions in Tongan society. The land side is the Tui Tonga, his chiefs and people im-
[649] mediately connected with them; the lower side is all else (12, p. 177). Lapaha (com-
[361] pare Fijian Lambasa) is the village near to the compound of the Tui Tonga. Ohoma-
[644] fua is a site not now identifiable, presumably the site of a compound near Lapaha
[103] where the Tui Haatkalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu lived. Pangai, a widespread and
important name, was applied to residences of the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a
compound of this name which was a residence of the Tui Kanokupolu near Tatakamo-
tonga part, of the modern village of Mua, near Lapaha. Ahau (compare Samoan
Asau), also a widespread and important name, is apparently especially associated with
the Tui Kanokupolu. Gifford notes a compound of this name near Lapaha.
15. "As of a double mat was report" may refer to the preceding line, Pangai and
Ahau, seats of greatness, famous as a famous double mat, but it seems better to take
the line with the one following and refer it to the hapless maiden of Niua. Ulamoleka
"heard a great deal about her, but it turns out that there is no bulk in this great mat."
16. Matamoanauta and Faatalamatua are said to be in Hihifo, Tongatabu,
though Matamoanauta is noted by Gifford as near Hamula, which is at the other ex-
tremity of Tongatabu. The girl is recommended to go to these places with the man
whom she has preferred before Ulamoleka. He taunts this out-island girl, telling
her to go to places where there is really something worth while, and where she will
hear something about the man she has rejected.
17. Poulalahi; evidently a shrine, or sanctuary.
- [345] 18. The line of mounds; the pigeon-snaring mounds in Hihifo. Ulamoleka was
connected with the chiefs of Hihifo through his mother. On his father's side he
was a descendant of Tungi Manaia, who belonged to the Tui Tonga families of eastern
Tongatabu.
- [484] 19. To be in Haapai but not in Tofua, the volcanic mountain island on the
western fringe of the Haapai group, is a proverbial expression for an untravelled, or
incompletely travelled man. The poem says the hundred hills of the crest of Tofua
could tell why Ulamoleka has not been seen more in the games and festivals ashore;
he has not become better known because his life has been spent in voyaging to all
sorts of places.
20. One copy reads *S'i anga 'oe 'au na luma* (dear manner of that reproach
of thine), which gives good sense. The other copy, which I have followed, reads *S'i
anga 'oe aualuma*. The word *aualuma* is rare in Tongan and it probably is not Ton-
gan, and Pratt gives the meaning for Samoan, "a company of single ladies," which
fits the context admirably. Further, as a matter of criticism, the change from *aualuma*,
a word strange to the majority of Tongans, to *'au na luma*, is more likely than that
the change was made in the opposite direction.

22. The plant *unuoi* is a favorite food of pigeons. Tuakilaumea presents himself as a pigeon eating *unuoi* unapprehensive of pending trouble when the news of his disgrace reached him; probably also an allusion is made to himself drinking the kava which was the cause of all the trouble. 539
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23. The plant *pipitongi*, here used as a nickname of Tuakilaumea himself. 276

24. Moli hath done wrong, leave it to Loli, is a proverbial expression for laying the blame of one man's wrongs upon another. 687

25. This is a proverbial expression complaining that the unworthy reap the benefit of the labors and endurance of the strong and brave (17, no 92). 825

26. Afaipaongo (little fruit of hala) is a sarcastic name for the King. The *paongo* is a valued species of *Pandanus*, and the name is constructed on the model of the nicknames of great chiefs, which frequently are of some valued and pleasant plant. The *afa* of the hala, however, is the last fruit, which is smaller than the earlier fruit; and the name, therefore, is a taunt, "poor little fruit coming after the great fruit which have preceded you." 551
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27. Lolo was one of the handsome men whose profession was love. Tuakilaumea used the word *motua*, a common but not very respectful term for man.

28. Lotunofu; the compound of the Tui Tonga in Mua.

29. This is perhaps the request of Mumui to Tuakilaumea to live with him; but afterwards Mumui is relying on the chief Vahai of Lolopaongo a village of Foui, in western Tongatabu. But Vahai has deserted the interests of Hihifo and gone off to Hahake, where he originally belonged.

30. This is a sarcastic reference to Mumui. The direction is to "pluck the stars from heaven for this king of ours, and let all the forces of Nature be according to his pleasure." Alotolu is the belt in Orion; Toloa, the Southern Cross; Humu, dark sky near the Southern Cross (16, pp. 4-6). 821

31. Tufuhu is a place name in Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. Winds are named therefrom, as *funga Tufuhu* (from the surface of Tufuhu). 821

32. Kalau is an islet off the southern end of Eua. "Below Kalau" is used of the wind blowing from a point seaward from Kalau. 821

33. The reference is to some town where lightning was held to be an omen of war. "The town" is said to be Mumui's own town. 821

34. Teuhie and Kaloafu are two rocks off the coast of Hihifo. The murmur of the sea is said to be heard on these rocks in calm weather, hence the expression is used here of calm seas. In these lines, in addition to the sarcastic request that Nature be as Mumui would choose, is the poet's own brooding fondness for the natural features of his native land, which is so constant a feature of Tongan poetry. 823

35. The Kailakulaku is the boat of Ata, one of the great chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu. The context implies "Let the canoe of this chief put out to shatter all opposition, that our King reign without a rival." 552

36. The line *Ke tau nonofo kuo talau*, seems to have two ideas: first, that the king be equal to his job, and hence know how to treat his *matapule*; and, second that we be all alike under his rule, that is that his rule be marked by even-handed justice.

37. The phrase *la ahi a* is not very clear. The word for sandalwood *ahi*, may be a name for the King, in which case the line would follow the preceding one and mean "That we live in justice with Ahi." I have taken *la ahi a* as an expletive. The poet is again sarcastic at expense of Mumui.

38. There is in Vavau a cave, or depression, with sweet water in it called Tukitou. Bathing in this pool is said to make one beautiful. 823

39. "Correctness of a maimed hand" carries with it the implication that with all its correctness of movement in the dance the maimed hand can not achieve fullness of beauty and grace.

40. The exact interpretation is uncertain but it is an expression forbidding speech. Toku is the name of an island north of Vavau, and of several other localities. 103

42. Tuakilaumea says that he will no longer consort with Mumui.

Pages 100-102. Rhymes for the game of hiko

1. I know of no other occurrence of the form Savaiki in Tongan.

2. Many names in this rhyme are of chiefs. 539
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539 Pages 103-104. The environs of Nukualofa

823 1. This poem is assigned, but apparently incorrectly, to Falepapalangi, the bard of Hihifo, who is represented by a number of pieces in this collection. The seventeenth and eighteenth lines and the closing portion of the poem indicate that the composer was a man of Vavau. These lines may be ironical, or meant to indicate that he has become accustomed to the praise of Vavau in his work and has developed a fondness for that part of the group. It is much more probable that the lines about Vavau are to be taken literally. The piece may have been composed by Falepapalangi's great rival Mamaeapoto.

[539] 2. Reckoning from Tonga the "wind from the back of Koloa" would be about northeast.

[103] 3. Tongataeapa (Tonga without respect) is a portion of the modern town of Nukualofa, where a number of chiefs lived. The name indicates that the locality was so chiefly that it paid respect to no other locality, but had respect paid to it.

[103] 4. Onemalama was a bathing-place of the chiefs in Tongataeapa; it is now filled up.

5. There is a *ngingie uta*, land *ngingie*, and a *ngingie tahi*, sea, or seashore, *ngingie*.

6. Veitata, a pool.

7. Names of localities or compounds.

8. Veimusieua; a pool in Nukualofa, near the home of the chief Ata.

9. This is not a compound, but a clump of *kahikahi*, a fern-like plant.

10. The meaning of this line not clear. A slight emendation, changing *hono* to *hoto*, would give the meaning "my mind has been hidden," which would be in keeping with other lines, indicating the poet's ignorance of some of the localities.

[764] 11. Malaealoa, in the modern Nukualofa, is a *maloe* (burial ground) belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and his family.

[764] 12. Faletuipapai is a burial ground belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Aleamotua and his family. It is alongside Malaealoa, and the two burial grounds are now joined in one.

539 13. Pulepulekai is the site of the present British Residency and Consulate. There is a *saepa* of the same name in Vavau.

823 14. Tupouveiongo, or simply Veiongo, is the hill on which the Wesleyan Church in Nukualofa stands; it is called, since its application to this Christian use, Saione, Zion. 103 Veiongo (sounding water) is said to have been given to the hill because the sound of flowing water could be heard by placing the ear to the ground.

[368] 15. Felemaka, a locality inland in Nukualofa is now the dwelling of a Wesleyan native minister.

16. Mataloko, Ngululahi and Sisilouango are the names of headlands or eminences (*matanga*) in Vavau.

17. Tatauocalo means the top of the hill Talau in Vavau.

18. Falefilimoto is given by Gifford as a sea-cliff in Vavau. A timber used in house-building is termed *filimoto*.

Pages 104-105. Vavau and Haapai

1. Keitahi and Tausisivavaki are beaches in Vavau.

2. Lofa is the volcano in Tofua, Haapai. Vailahi (Great water) would seem to be the crater lake of this volcano. That the volcanic cone is in the lake is a peculiar construction. Their being in close association must be understood without pressing the local significance of 'i. It is said, however, that Lofa is the name of the god who lies within the crater and spurts out fire and smoke and stones.

[776] 3. Paluki is a beach, affording excellent anchorage for small boats, in Lifuka, Haapai. Kasivaki is unidentified, but is evidently a place in the same locality.

[504] 4. Loupua (Leaf of *pua*, a plant with sweet-smelling blooms) is a nickname for the king, possibly the King of Haapai. The people of Haapai generally are said to be sometimes called *pua*. Haapai is a cluster of islets, scattered so that its people spend more time at sea than do those of any other part of Tonga. This exposure to wind and weather is said to give them a ruddy complexion, whence the nickname *pua*, for the red blooms of the plant. Pangai is on the island of Lifuka, Haapai.

539 5. When vessels visit Haapai they put in at Lifuka, but it is possible that the remains of the *Port-au-Prince*, in which Mariner arrived in 1806 are indicated. The 823 *Port-au-Prince* was cut out on the sea-front of Lifuka. She was burned, but her final resting place was in shallow water and doubtless a little wreckage was visible. [726]

6. A number of localities bear the name Toku. If the island off Vavau is indicated, the wind would be from the north.

7. Fakanumuli is a tract near the sea front of Lifuka. Alaimuitoa lies to the west of Fakanamuli.

8. Velitua is possibly the pool in which Finau bathed just before the assassination of Tupou Niuu (Mariner, vol. 1, p. 129).

9. The meaning of *kumi*, translated cloth, is really a measure of cloth.

10. Tongoleleka (Short mangrove) has become the proper name of a locality in Lifuka, occupied by a large village.

11. Tofua, the lofty volcanic island, and its still loftier neighbor Kao, are about 35 miles to the westward from Lifuka. The shore of Lifuka, about which the latter part of this poem centers gives a fine view of these two mountain islands. The setting sun throws about them wonderful and ever-changing beauties.

12. Tohonakao is the summit of Kao. It is not clear what is meant by "Tohonakao that is peopled." Tofua was inhabited until quite recent times, the people removing because the volcano erupted. People still have their gardens there, and visit them from neighboring islands. But there seems no record of Kao being peopled to its summit.

Page 105. In praise of Vavau

1. Taunga; one of the islands of Vavau; Keila, a locality on Taunga.

2. Tapana, Motuha, and Hunga are islands of Vavau.

3. Pautua is an unidentified locality in Vavau.

4. Vaihingano (Water of hingano flower) is evidently the name of a stream or pool in Vavau. Better known is the stream Vaisingano, near Apia, in Samoa, which is also the name of a Samoan chiefly house (26, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77).

5. Veafakanua and Kavenga are unidentified localities in Vavau.

6. There is a Faleula in Samoa. This name has been explained by an excellent Tongan informant as equivalent to *falefaiva*, house of dancing.

7. Siaafafine (Mound of women) and Kavafakaua are two pigeon-snaring mounds near Feletoa.

8. The places mentioned in this line seem to be near Feletoa also.

9. The translation of this line is only a conjecture.

10. The localities named in this context are unidentified. Uluipuaka is also given as a correct reading for Tulunipuaka.

11. Toafaoava is an open tract near Haalaufuli (21).

12. The *ngahu* is a shrub that grows on the shore. High-water mark is called *mata-ngahu* (edge of the *ngahu*).

13. Anamanu is near Haalaufuli (21).

14. Kafoa is a hill in Vavau. The reference to the "jest of Tongatabu that has been carried too far" is not clear but evidently it is something that makes light of the claims of Kafoa. The jest may have been of the bard himself, as he is a Tongatabu man. One copy would be translated "Tongatabu hath appeared too much"; that is, has been made too much the theme of poetical compositions, overlooking the claims of places like Kafoa.

15. The word *kafongalu* means literally a wound of breakers, that is, of surf-riding; and so it is applied to a wound given or received in sport or jest.

16. The battle here is the give and take of repartee and joke. "It is fair, the falling in battle."

17. The house in Neiafu is a sanctuary. "If it leak" means if it be unable to afford effective shelter to suppliants because its god is not sufficiently powerful to withstand the gods of their enemies. Ngaakau is a locality in the village of Tefisi, belonging to the chief Luani. Clearly there was a sanctuary there, which is thought to have been associated with the chief Fakafanua.

18. Lahakau is felt in Tonga to be a borrowing from Fiji, where, however, the form Lasakau would be expected. It is said that the districts in Fiji subject to Bau were called Lahakau, and that the people tended gardens, and did other tasks of the kind, for Bau.

Page 105. Weather coast of Vavau

1. This is, in part at least, a love poem. The theme of the lines beginning "The landsman made a complaining" is amorous and many of the localities mentioned have

- 539 associations with gallant adventures, or are suitable for lovers' walks. Such allusions are characteristic of Tongan poetry, which seldom deals in outspoken passion.
- 823 2. Falaovuna (Mat of Vuna) is a beach. Level stretches of sand or sward are not infrequently named *fala* (mat) of some notable personage of history or tradition.
- 103 3. "Landsman," that is one unskilled in things of the sea; here, a man unskilled, unsuccessful, in love.
- 192 4. Two rods are placed out over the stern of the canoe in bonito fishing. The inference is that the gallant has won the favors of two ladies.
- 226 5. The line means "my ivory [hook] with a fringe or decoration of red-birds' feathers"; hence a hook that is valuable and attractive. A variant can be translated "feather of double bird."
- 192 6. The word *lafo* (thrown) is used of presenting mats.
- 192 7. The ill-fortune is that the poet has gone off the track and almost passed without mention a place that should be mentioned.
8. Kaunimasini; an overhanging rock.
9. Makoao; a rock.
- 103 10. Holoni is the name of some scattered bowlders at the foot of one of the Vavau cliffs. The phrase means an unsuccessful fishing day, an interpretation is that these rocks are washed by the sea, but do not take any fish; that man will endure being wetted by the sea because he gets fish, but a rock has no such compensation. Possibly the idea that this is not a good fishing place is included in the expression and also a reminiscence of an unsuccessful love affair of the bard's. Besides meaning washed by the sea, the phrase signifies boats getting together and sharing provisions. Crews will not eat while bonito or shark are in sight, so there is the possible interpretation of getting together to eat because there is no fishing worth troubling about.
11. Tave, a cliff.
12. Potuitoume, a rock standing in the sea.
- 192 13. The *pipiheli* is a plant (*Hernandia moerenhoutiana*).

Page 106. Vavau

1. The poem celebrates the beauty of Vavau, a theme worthy of the muse. In form it is an imaginary excursion over headlands, hills, and beaches. Many of the places named are *matanga* (lookout places, eminences), many on the coast, whence a good view may be obtained.
- 103 2. Kaho and Aloitalau (or simply Talau) are hills.
- 103 3. Tuanuku, Teleki, Fau, Pau, and Utukalongalu are names of beaches. The following five lines contain names of *matanga*.
- 103 4. Finemaukava is a *matanga*.
- 103 5. Paleamote and Kalae are the names of two *api* (tracts of land, compounds). There is no one English word to render *api*. It is the nearest equivalent to "home."
- 361 6. Fukotokanga, Fukomafa, Fakatoumamana, names of *api*.
- 103 7. Two *matanga*.
- 103 8. Sisilouango and Tatauaoalo, names of *matanga*.
9. Vaimasiniake, a pool.
10. Potuitoume; a rock standing in the sea. The word means end or stump, of a torch. A goddess (Hina?) went fishing with a torch, and when she had finished she threw the end of it into the sea as she went ashore. This rock is the end of the torch.
- 176

Pages 106-107. Weather coast of Selenga

1. This poem is in praise of a locality named Selenga, which is evidently on the weather coast of some part of Vavau. Not all of the names mentioned have been identified, but those that have are of places in Vavau.
2. The name Koate is unidentified. There is a Vavau chief of this name.
3. The line *Malama e tanlaki penepena* interpreted means, "Gleam [the chiefs who have] dressed their heads with lime."
- 551 4. Taiheunga (Smite the crab) and Mahinaea (Appearing moon) are the chiefs whose beauty fresh from bathing is spoken of. It is possible, however, that these are place names.
- 103 5. I was unable to find the meaning of *tofalea*. (Compare the Samoan, *tofale*, to build houses.) Houses were built on mounds, *kolonga*, near the *sia*, to keep apparatus
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in, and for the care and convenience of the huntsmen. Provisionally, but with little confidence I have translated as though buildings of this sort are referred to. The word *ka* is frequently used, as here, between noun and adjective, indicating that the quality referred to by the adjective is possessed in a high degree.

6. Literally, "Ka ta naka heu elito'i hea" means "We shall handle [for] snaring [of] *elitoi hea*." There seems no special reason for mentioning the word *elitoi hea* except that it was frequently used for making the frame of the pigeon net. *Naka* is properly the handle of the net, but here the word is used verbally, and means "we [shall use as a] handle." The net was fixed between two long poles, hinged like a pair of scissors, with forks on the lower ends (*muniao*) to rest on the thigh, and was closed when the birds entered by pressing the handles together. The *naka* is the part between the hinge and the *muniao*, and was of considerable length. The man who wielded the net was covered with leaves, and sat in a tree on a convenient rest made for that purpose. There is a verse describing the snarer's operations:

Ta ki tu'a 'ae kau-fanga,
Ta ki loto 'ae kau-vao,
Pea ta omi 'ae muniao,
Pea kuku kau-naka.

Strike outwards the *kau-fanga*,
Strike inwards the *kau-vao*,
And press down the *muniao*,
And grasp the handle.

The *kau-fanga* and *kau-vao* are the two sides respectively of the frame just where the net hangs. The *naka* was long so that the net projected from the hiding-place, and was turned about in all directions to intercept the flying birds. "Strike outwards, strike inwards," perhaps mean no more than open the net well, one side opening away from the tree, and the other towards it.

7. The word *ake* is, sung by the chorus, probably marks a change of key or tune. The rhyme changes at the lines where *ake* is appears.

8. Duck in its flying "Toloo ene puna" is a pun on the name of this surf riding beach. The flying of this duck is the flying spray.

Page 107. A poem of Veehala

1. The author is probably a bard of Hihifo. References to a man-of-war, and to a book, indicate that the poem was composed after the introduction of Christianity, or at any rate after contact with Europeans. It is a complaint that some ill advised action has become magnified in common talk out of all proportion to the real fault.

2. The more obvious meaning of this line is that his life is very sweet to him; but it is possible that the meaning is that he has become a choice tit-bit to the gossips, it has been so interpreted by a very competent Tongan.

3. By "talk of death," "mention of death," is meant either that the accusation against him places his life in danger, or, that the report is that he has caused the death of someone. Perhaps both meanings are included.

4. Here is recalled the fact that there is a great chief who will give protection, evidently a chief of Hihifo, and quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu himself. This is indicated in two metaphors, one of pigeon-snaring, and the other of bonito-fishing. Matamoana is a pigeon mound in Hihifo. The idea is repeated in the metaphor of the Sacred Reef, Hakau Tapu, a fishing ground of the Hihifo chiefs.

5. A double meaning is introduced, both to go early in the morning to a fishing ground and to go to a chief with a presentation (*pongipongi*). The line means that a wise man goes quickly when the propitious time arrives.

6. A sigh for the good old days, before the invasion of the new-fangled book learning and ways. What he had done would have caused little comment in the old "foolish" and "dark" days; it was merely the sort of thing that any old heathen might have done; but now it has become a subject of talk in the assembly (*fono*); or, that it has been talked about as much as if it had been of sufficient importance to be placed before one of these gatherings.

7. "The book left in Hihifo," the Reverend J. Thomas, the pioneer of the effective Christianization of the group, landed in Hihifo in 1826; though Nukualofa, where there were two other missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist church. Before the Wesleyans came, Hihifo was the center for the ill-fated band of missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society, who landed in 1797 and who were forced to leave the group soon after the outbreak of war in 1800, leaving three of their men as martyrs.

Collocott—Tales and Poems of Tonga

163

her brother Fatafehi, who succeeded his father as Tui Tonga, were children of Telea and Mataukipa, who was the granddaughter of a Tui Tonga. The placing of her name at the head of the poem does not mean that she had anything to do with the composition of it; nor that she is the subject of it. Apparently the bard has named his composition and the dance for which it was sung after this great lady. Another piece in the collection from which this is taken is associated with her name. Probably both pieces and others were sung to the one dance for this piece is much shorter than the song which accompanies the average dance, and it is not unlikely that this and the preceding poem were performed together. The first was concerned with bonito fishing, and this with fishing for *valu* by trailing a hook astern of the canoe. The line, now-a-days at least, is fifty or more yards long.

2. Telekivavau and Telekitonga are a remote little group of uninhabited islets, at the southeast extremity of Haapai.

3. Fetokopunga and Lalona, islets in Haapai.

4. The division of the word *Tatohofa* is uncertain; it is taken, probably correctly, as one word, the name of a boat.

5. One of the nights of the Tonga month. The phases of the moon were carefully observed by the fisherman, as some days, or nights, were *aho ika*, fish days, that is, favorable days for the catching of fish. The *aho ika* seem to have varied for different localities, or chiefs, which is much the same thing, and fish. A complete list of *aho ika* would furnish doubtless an interesting contribution to the study of lucky and holy days; but it is doubtful if it is possible for such a list to be recovered from the memory of living Tongans. The phase of the moon *uluaki ahoia* would seem to be one of the *aho ika* for the *valu*. I have translated *uluaki* literally as first; but as a matter of fact it seems that the first of these phases of the moon is called *frakooki*.

6. Matafau, Houmatau, reefs; Fonuaika, an island in Haapai.

7. The "little fish" (*mafua*) are the smaller fish which serve as food for the bigger fish, the *valu*, whose pursuit is the subject of the poem. There is frequent mention of the *mafua*, sometimes with the name of some particular fish. The fishermen direct their course by the appearance of the shoals of smaller fish on which the *valu*, and other large fish, feed.

8. Nonuku, an island; Naa, unidentified, but clearly the name of an island, a reef or a tract of sea.

9. The *uluahu* is a small fish. In this reference a shoal of *uluahu* are the *mafua*.

10. For the remarkable regularity of the appearance of the palolo, the well-known sea-annelid, *Palolo viridis* (32; 6, pp. 135-36).

11. Auhangamea, the sea between the islands of Utiha and Uoleva, in Haapai—a good trawling ground.

12. The fishermen see a shoal of small fish, but on approaching them find that they are *memea*, a fish which the big fish will not eat, so it is useless to go on in that direction.

13. The *ulu* is a large fish. The names *lupolupo*, *memea*, *lupo*, and *tafauhi ulu* are said to be used of successive stages of growth of the same species of fish.

14. The *manua* is the name of a night noted by bonito fishers; at that time the moon is past the full.

15. The text reads *ko toamotua*; the emendation *hi Toamotua* is the conjecture of the best informed of living Tongans, but *Toamotua* is not identified.

16. A hopeful fishing ground is indicated; big fish are there seeking *mafua*. The original text reads *vahi ni*, which is not intelligible; *vaha ni* is merely a conjecture.

17. Luahoko and Olofanga are islands in Haapai.

18. After the ill success indicated, the fishermen are about to give up, but remember Puke and Faleovalu, spaces of sea within the Haapai group, and go there to try their luck. The last line is extremely terse, and means the fishermen are returning home well satisfied, having caught so many and such big fish that the hook is broken.

Pages 117-118. A praise of beaches

1. The banyan tree is the one under which Captain Cook addressed a great gathering of Tongans. Since that time it has been popularly called Captain Cook's

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533 tree; but its Tongan name is Malumalu o Fulilangi (Shade of Fulilangi). It is not
539 known who is the Fulilangi thus distinguished, but the name was not uncommon among
538 the Tui Pelehake, and has also been borne by other chiefs.

823 2. Leolava (Many voices) is probably so-called because people from many parts,
including other countries, for example Fiji and Samoa, congregated here in the
entourage of the Tui Tonga.

552 3. The town that is pleasing (*kolo fakalata*) is Mua, the Tui Tonga's capital,
scene of many pleasures.

103 4. Kolongahau is a stone wharf near the old-time residence of the Tui Haataka-
164 laua. There is also reclamation work here, undertaken when the place became the
residence of the Tui Haatakalaua.

504 5. The word *sunufea ni* is unintelligible. Probably it is the corruption of a
foreign word, not unlikely the English fern. In the last stanza of the poem the line
192 about the wind from the north includes the word *fea-nini* (fair-wind).

192 6. "Smooth white sand" is a conjectural translation of *fala-sina*, white mat. The
word *fala*, mat, is often used of smooth sward or sand, and *hina*, not *sina*, is the usual
Tongan form of this word.

533 Page 118. A song of fragrant flowers

539 1. Nua or Lotonua is a place name. There is a locality called Nua in Mua,
the chief village of eastern Tongatabu, and the old seat of the Tui Tonga.

824 2. The names *tuituu*, *lavalava*, *nusipalataha*, and *lalahelala* are of various types
of leaf and flower ornaments for the neck and bosom. The generic name is *kakoa*.
103 These, and other flower and leaf ornaments are *kakala* (sweet-smelling things).

3. Other types of flower ornaments are *fakaotusia*, *alamoa*, and *fakalotu*;
fakaotusia and *alamoa* apparently are decorations for arms and ankles (*vesa*).

4. The *langakali* is a flower.

5. "Sleep in sea-water:" the flowers and leaves of a plant are sprinkled with
sea-water, and left all night (*faka-mohe*) and thus their full fragrance is brought out.
At night the fragrant flowers are placed underneath the wooden pillow, and so sweet
are the scents that they "distract the mind."

6. The double plaiting round the top of the sisi leaf girdle is called *funganina*,
the bottom one *laloni*, and the flower *kingano* is twined into it.

7. Types of plaiting of the leaf and flower ornaments are termed *veevee*,
tuituivo, *paangapulupaki*, and *fakamatamoana*.

8. To plait blossoms together without stringing on anything is called *kako*.

9. Ribbon, of the inner bark of the *iau* is called *lon*.

103 10. *Latai*, a pool on the reef, near *Laulea*, the famous surf-riding place on the
weather coast of eastern Tongatabu.

11. The "town of faded garlands" (*kolo ngatuvai*) is Mua, whither at the time
of festivals are brought so many garlands, which finally, are thrown aside and fade.

538 Page 119. Malokula.

1. Tonga, meaning Tongatabu.

539 2. Leaf of *pua* (the King, George Tupou I).

527 3. An enterprise large enough to collect sufficient money.

434 Page 119. Laughter of women

538 1. This probably may be considered as a love poem, at least in part. Direct
expressions of love and passion are extremely rare in Tongan compositions. The
references to sport, fishing, pigeon-snaring, and surf-riding are partly literal and
partly figurative of the pursuit of love, and throughout is the sense of the pleasant-
ness of woman's companionship.

103 2. *Finchika* is a locality in Mua.

824 3. The *moonia* and the *tinatila* are plants, *tinatila* is said to be like a passion-
flower. Probably both are late introductions.

1551 4. *Fuaahoia* is the nickname of a chief.

5. *Fakimamana*; locality in Mua.

533 6. *Namalata*; place name in Eua (?).

539 7. *Holaavaka*; beach in Eua (?).

8. *Mohekaelanga*; place probably in Eua.

103 9. *Utolongoa*, the rocky coast of eastern Tongatabu.

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

71

145. Liu ka moko: Lizard climbing upside down.

The lizard comes down a tree head first, and there is occasionally a man so skillful in climbing that he is able to imitate the reptile in this. To such a man this expression would be applied, but it is used generally of one who has some special way of his own of doing some particular feat or who possesses some extraordinary skill that enables him to bring off feats that the ordinary mortal would scarcely attempt.

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146. Moko looa: Choking lizard.

Applied to a person whose neck is stretched out like that of the lizard in his distressful attempts to swallow. (Compare Nos. 167 and 177.)

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147. Kuma aka ki he pusi: Rat kicking at the cat.

Generally of the weak behaving presumptuously to the strong.

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148. Pekopeko a pusi kai moa: Quiet mournfulness of a cat that eats fowls.

The hypocrisy of one whose sad-eyed propriety in the presence of others is belied by the mischief to which he readily turns when free from observation is likened to the conduct of the cat whose demure abstinence from chicken flesh does not outlast the presence of human observers. (The cat, with its English name *pusi*, is a late introduction.)

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149. Pakau a puaka tuu a: Leanness of a pig kept in a sty.

The pig kept in a sty does not become so fleshy as the pig allowed to wander freely, but when put to the test of eating the pig from the sty is found to have more fat on him than his brother who enjoyed greater liberty. So used of that which is lean to the eye but is found to have much fat.

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150. Puaka ne maa toe fakapelepela: A pig that was clean again covered with mud.

Equivalent to the Biblical saying about the sow that had washed turning to wallowing in the mire, and possibly a translation of it.

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151. Pukepuke a fufula: Grasping a big fat pig.

This is a task that demands the whole of one's strength and care. Tradition says that a big prime pig used to be kept in a sty in Taanea in Vavatu, and that Maui Atalanga and his son Maui Kijikiji went to get it. As the younger Maui went to lay hands on the animal his father exhorted him to grasp it firmly lest it escape. This incident, however, does not seem to be claimed as the origin of the expression.

152. Hage ha fononga pulumokau: Like a troop of cattle.

Pulu-mo-kan, bull-and-cow, is used as a name for either bull or cow. It is of course recent. Applied particularly to great waves at sea and also generally to large things.

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Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs 87

certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. 539
Human life is more valuable than any boat. 503
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252. *Hange ha fana fotu*: Like a mast that shows up. 539
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Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. "Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. *Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua*: Like pouring oil on 539
a rough sea. 823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. *Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu*: Safe from the hurricane but 539
sunk in the calm. 829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. *Kanakana fai ki tahi*: Eating carried out at sea. 539

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus 505
there will be the more left for himself. 571

256. *Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama*: If it had been that I had 539
acted *hama* fashion. 501
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The *hama* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hama* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. *Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia*: Eating a leak with seas 539
coming on board. 505
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Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

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sea. These brothers were chiefs, each with his own followers, and the angry man's followers went with their master over the cliff. Among them was a Samoan. The party were turned into porpoises, and the tattooing on the Samoan's body is the origin of the marking on the belly of the porpoise. 539 571 825

314. Feofaaki a kakau: Mutual affection of swimmers.

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Kindly feelings for each other felt by those who have very little opportunity of translating their sentiments into actions, just as men swimming away from a wrecked boat can do very little for each other however much they may desire to. 571 481

315. Ha ha mo lofia: Appearing, appearing and awash.

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Used of that which shows up and disappears at intervals, like an object floating in the sea, which is visible for an instant and then is hidden from sight by the waves. 823

316. Hange ha pa utu: Like a steep cliff.

Used of that which stands firm and unshaken no matter what storms of trial beat against it. The picture is that of a great cliff unmoved by the dashing waves.

317. Hange ha tahi hua: Like an incoming tide.

A resistless thing.

318. Matemate a liku: The *liku* still.

The *liku* is the weather side of the island, usually protected by a broad shelf of rock, and always presenting a rock-bound inhospitable coast. Even when the tide is out and the sea smooth, leaving the shelf of reef dry and bare, one cannot altogether trust appearances for a sudden wave may come up and perhaps overwhelm those who are exposed in dangerous places on the rocks. Appearances that cannot be trusted. [183]

319. Laku maka fai ki tahi (or moana): Casting stones into the sea (or ocean).

A type of a useless labor; the stones are lost but the sea is not dammed up.

320. Likuliku mo ao: Windward and leeward.

The sea breaks heavily on the weather side but there is calm on the leeward side. This mixture of rough and calm is used proverbially of one whose character displays like inconsistencies; at one time he seems an honest man, and at another a liar; at one time kindly, and at another harsh. [157]

321. Limu tuu i au: Seaweed standing in current.

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That which is unstable, like seaweed constantly moved by the water. 824

539 322. Mamaha ae tahi he kuo tuunga kiu: The tide is low for
823 the plover (*Charadrius fulvus*) can stand.

825 There are a number of phrases for different stages of the outgoing and incoming tide. *Tuunga kiu*, standing for the plover, indicates the time when the sea has receded so far as to leave isolated rocks projecting here and there on the reef, thus affording standing places for the plover. Proverbially used of that which is nearly finished, of which signs of approaching completion are appearing here and there.

539 323. Nofu i lelenga: Living at cliff: being at the top of the cliff.

823 *Lelenga* is the name given to a very high bare cliff in Eua, with a
[103] sheer drop into the sea. It is possibly, in this connection at all events, a proper name, but Baker gives it as a common noun meaning jeopardy. The expression *nofu i lelenga* has been explained as referring directly to the cliff in Eua, a fall from which would be certain death, and where, owing to the nature of the coast, the chances of recovering the body would be
[829] slight. Used generally of being in danger, uncertainty of life. Nowadays frequently heard in Christian worship in reference to the uncertainties of life.

539 324. Paepae kae auhia: Mounded up but washed away.

823 Perhaps in the first instance refers to the leaves put in the sea to
386 bleach in preparation for mat making. These leaves are anchored by stones put on them. If not this the obvious meaning is still that of something which is piled up but yet washed away by the currents. It is applied to that which one tries to do, to put through, to make fast but cannot.

539 325. Ta ki ao ta ki tua: Having regard to front, having regard
823 to back.

Ta ki liku ta ki ao: Having regard to weather side (of an island), having regard to lee side.

Ta ki liku ta ki fanga: Having regard to weather (rocky) side, having regard to beach.

Ta ki tahi ta ki uta: Having regard to sea, having regard to land.

[183] These expressions have the same meaning. In reference to persons they denote all-round excellence; used of place they mean everywhere.

NATURAL FEATURES OF LAND

326. Fuli ki vanu: Overturned into chasm.

Such a thing will not appear again; it is finished and done with. So of a thing that is finished, whose usefulness is quite over.

327. Ka kele a matavai e kele mo muivai: If the source is muddy the lower waters will also be muddy.

[183] This has its obvious application to things spoiled throughout by corruption at the fountain-head. Although pure Tongan in form and vo-
[312]

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs 99

cabulary this phrase seems out of place in Tonga, a country almost entirely without running water.

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328. Tafe jino i vai: Perhaps flowing as a body of water.

Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan language), translates *tafetinoikvai*: "to flow in the river bed." It is used in Tongan of that which is manifestly good and may indicate a distinct, clear-flowing, volume of water in contradistinction to scattered streamlets. Except for a few tiny rivulets in Eua the Tongan group is without surface flowing water, and so such an expression would seem to have originated in Eua, or, perhaps more probably, to have been brought from Samoa.

[177]

329. Ta jino-i-vai: Cutting out body of water.

Water making for itself a channel, and becoming a manifest body of water. Like the preceding, this expression is applied to that which is clean, unsullied, as well as to that which is manifest.

330. Tuutuu mounga: Standing (on) mountain.

Applied to one who is out of reach by reason of rank or the protection of those of high rank.

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GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS

TONGATABU AND EUA

[Tongatabu the chief island of the group, and the seat of Government. It is one of the most southerly of the Tongan Islands. On its southeast side is the high and beautiful island of Eua, separated from Tongatabu by a narrow but very deep strait.]

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331. Hange ko Manaki: Like Manaki.

Manaki is a high towering rock in the island of Eua, and is a very prominent feature in the landscape. Used of that which is obvious. (Compare No. 232.)

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332. Hange koe Matafota: Like Matafota.

Matafota is a place in the sea between Eua and Tongatabu, which has passed into a proverb for its roughness. (See No. 342.)

333. Koena pe he Tuatoi: Tuatoi is just over there.

Tuatoi is a place in Eua at a considerable distance from Ohonua, the chief centre of population. Used in an ironic or deceptive way to one who asks how far a place is away. The one inquired of may just point in an offhand way and say, "Oh, Tuatoi is just over there," but when the one who asked comes to walk the distance he will find that he has a long way to go.

539334. Nukualofa fakakehekehe: Flattering Nukualofa.

103 The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua: Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

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505 The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539336. Toka i Maananga: Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

787 Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed [779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539337. Tonga mounga ki he lotu: Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

823 This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. [873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountainous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu: Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

484 Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that 829 to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is 261

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs 101

at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu he is going to a good place to get it. 539
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HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost midway between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.] 131
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339. *Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana*: A great talk about food after the Haa-Ngana way. 539
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Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. *E seen ae namu Nomuka*: Nomuka mosquitoes will be driven away. 539
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The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. *Foa ulu efu*: Foa dusty head.

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin. 539
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342. *Hange ko Fakatoutoa*: Like Fakatoutoa.

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough seas. (See No. 332.) 539
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343. *Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa*: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is elliptical. (183)

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tical, but would be readily intelligible in a context. It means that a back-woods, out of the way place like Tolu had better not interfere with the affairs of other places. It is a way of telling anyone to mind his own business.

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344. Nae tai ae vaka Mounga-one koe ikai hano eiki: The Mounga-one boat was smitten because it had no chief.

The story is that a party of men sailed from Mounga-one in Haapai to some part of Fiji. On landing they cooked themselves some chestnuts (*Inocarpis edulis*), which were passed around and eaten in a most informal manner. While this was going forward a party of Fijians appeared, and feeling sure from the haphazard, go-as-you-please way in which the Tongans were taking their food that no chief was present they fell on them and slew them. This incident is jocularly referred to by one of a working party who is lazy, or who perhaps really deserves a rest, and wants to sit down. He sits down with the remark that the Mounga-one boat was cut out because there was no chief there, his meaning being that he will sit down and play the chief for the party he is with.

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345. Oku ikai ha vaka e mate i tahi ka e mole ai a Haano: There is not a boat lost at sea but a Haano man perishes there.

The people of the island of Haano in Haapai have the reputation of being such incorrigible wanderers that a boat cannot be wrecked without there being someone from this island among the drowned. Wherever you find a boat you are sure to find at least one Haano man on board.

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346. Kama e tevolo i Kao, Kae tuku e tevolo auu: Reaching out to, attending to, the devil in Kao, but not noticing your own devil.

In its present form this appears to be modern, and it is impossible to say whether there was an older form in which the word *tevolo* is replaced by something more certainly ancient and genuinely Tongan. The second line is sometimes rendered, *Kae tuku ae tevolo ho ao*, But not noticing the devil in your presence. The expression apparently originated in Haapai, where the island peak of Kao is situated. It is used here as the type of that which is distant; concerned over evils at a distance but regardless of the evils which are close at hand. (Compare Nos. 422 and 423.)

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347. Tekefili hange ko Kao: Lying manifest like Kao.

The high conical island of Kao in Haapai is the most striking feature in the seascape for very many miles around. "As plain as Kao" means much the same as "As plain as a pike staff," but is a much more striking and forcible expression.

348. Koe mamao he ko Aka: Distant, for 'tis Aka.

Aka is the name of a reef near the islands of Tofua and Kao, the two volcanic mountains of the Haapai group. To reach this reef involved a long sail from the islands that were the main centers of population, but

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

103

canoes used to go there for fishing. The expression is used generally of a long voyage to reach a reef. 539
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349. Manako maka fai ki Tofua: Wishing for rock in Tofua. 539

Volcanic stones and pebbles from Tofua are highly valued for several purposes, but Tofua is far from most of the inhabited islands, the anchorage is bad, and contrary winds are frequently met with, especially in returning. Wishing for stones from Tofua, therefore, is to desire something that is worth having but difficult to obtain. 823
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350. Taka Haapai tae i Tofua: Going about Haapai without being in Tofua. 539
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The meaning of this is similar to that of No. 335, the volcanic mountain of Tofua being as inconveniently situated with respect to the main portion of the Haapai group as Eua is with respect to Tongatabu. (See also No. 352.)

VAVAU AND NIUA FOOU

[Vavau is the most northerly of the Tonga Islands with the exception of the outlying islands of Niua Tobutabu and Niua Foou. Vavau is high and picturesque and possesses an exceedingly fine harbor. Niua Foou is about midway between Vavau and Samoa.] 131
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351. Kai pe e Ngaunoho ae fua o enau gaue kovi: Ngaunoho is merely eating the fruit of its ill deed. 539
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As a proverb this is one of the many expressions found scattered throughout the world which warn erring mortals that they must reap as they sow. Ngaunoho is a village in Vavau, and is said to have been once a flourishing place but to have fallen from its old prosperity through having offended its chief. Its present decrepitude is the fruit that it has to bite on. 622
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352. Taka Haafuluhao tae i Poujini: Going about in Haafuluhao without being in Poujini. 539
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Haafuluhao is a common name for Vavau, the northern part of the Tonga Islands. Poujini is a small islet near Haalaufuli in Vavau which is not often visited. This is similar to Nos. 335 and 350.

353. Tala kei i Kapa: Tell still in Kapa.

Kapa is an island in Vavau, lying close to the island of Mala. The route from Kapa to the mainland lies through Mala, where once dwelt a formidable cannibal man or demi-god. Warnings should be given or preparations made in Kapa before passing on to Mala, where one was in deadly peril. Used generally of taking time by the forelock, making all preparations to meet danger before one is actually involved in it. 539
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539 354. Faka-Niuniua-foou: Niua Foon fashion.

184 Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a
576 third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foon make no
574 scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly
276 is to act in the Niua Foon way. There is a special application to kava
drinking. The *matubule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the
drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding
in such a case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is;
but he may say "We'll do Niua Foon way," and then without further invi-
tation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them
will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono: Boom broken—leave it to
183 Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The
origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance
with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to
such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craft-men and will mend
it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to
so-and-so.

539 356. Hange ha tama Polataane: Like a British man.

829 This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the
177 days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the
sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea: Today apparently is to be
643 left to Uvea.

466 When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example
264 building or repairing his boat, the *Akihenho*, the duty of feeding the car-
823 penters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as
far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the
workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear
whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters
were wont to say, "It'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea."
Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 358. Ko Vaihi e: That's Hawaii.

823 Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English
people speak of asking for the moon, "Did you get such a thing?" "That's
Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of
getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable
[177] that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition,
[609] but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation
of this is *Ko Vaihi matalelele*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow. Hawaii; but
we do not know the reason of the epithet.

Collocott and Havea—Tongan Proverbs

135

group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to keep silent.

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way.

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofa mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho yet in want of rich food (literally fat).

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Don't desire to be equal

Naa ita a Taufaaahau: Lest Taufaaahau be angry.

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaaahau began with the famous George Tupou I, whose name it was. The sense is, smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

539 618. *Nofo a mama kae kailao e fakafaanga*: Men doing nothing
535 while the gods dance.
776 More strictly *fakafaanga* seems to mean the material objects, including
787 priests, in which the gods appeared. The phrase indicates that it is useless
793 for men to let the gods have the entertainment of their dances while they
themselves do nothing. Men are unable to share the enjoyment of the
denizens of the unseen world, and so they must get to work and make
their own fun.

539 619. *Taka i lalo hakanga*: Living below the dancing place, that
535 is, in close proximity to it.

183 One who lives in a place where dances are constantly learned and
868 performed has exceptional opportunities for becoming proficient. So the
expression is used of one who enjoys great facilities for acquiring some art,
knowledge, or other benefit, material, mental or spiritual.

UNCLASSIFIED PROVERBS

539 620. *Afi jii tupu ai e afi lahi*: Small fire, there springs from it
183 the great fire.

A warning of the sort common in so many languages and literatures
against the wisdom of neglecting evil in its small beginnings. It is pos-
sible to use it also as an expression of the great good works that spring
from humble beginnings.

539 621. *Alualu i mala tau ki monu*: Going along in misfortune,
777 reaching good fortune.

It is used of one who, after being long involved in ill luck, at length
experiences a change of fortune and has prosperity. As a matter of actual
[797] present day experience one frequently hears it applied by the natives to
their having been so long involved in the darkness of heathenism and hav-
ing in these latter times come out into the light of Christianity.

● [823] It is said that *Mala* (Curse, Misfortune), and *Monu* (Blessing, Good
Fortune), are two places, and that one who has reached *Mala* finds it very
difficult to return and get to *Monu*.

622. *Alualu i monu tau ki mala*: This is the reverse of No. 621.

Going along in good fortune, reaching misfortune, and is used of the
change from prosperity to adversity.

539 623. *Fai mai ete meimei tangi*:

152 We have not succeeded in finding a contemporary Tongan able to
571 explain this. All the words are in common use, and would seem to have
695 some such meaning as "present (a case) almost weeping," as of one making
a request with such earnestness that he is on the point of tears; or,
taking the word *tangi* in the sense of "appeal, make a request," instead of
that of "crying, weeping," we might render as, "I am come with almost a

2. **Fetuu-aho:** Day star, or morning star. This is frequently applied to Venus in her early morning appearances, but the name seems equally applicable to any bright star whose rising closely precedes the dawn (compare Samoan *Fetua*, the morning star). 821
3. **Fetuu fuka:** Flag or flagged star, a comet.
4. **Fetuu ejlafi:** Fire-bringing star, shooting star.
5. **Uha:** Rain. Belongs to great deities, the Tangaloa, who reside in the sky. This is the reason why prayers for rain were made to the goddess Tafakula, a descendant of the Tangaloa, who passed human supplications on to headquarters. [782] [776]
6. **Umata:** Rainbow. The rainbow belongs to a deity. It is tabu to point to the rainbow, and should one disregard this prohibition the limb with which he points will swell with elephantiasis or perhaps as with elephantiasis. [776] [781] [753]
7. **Mofulke:** Earthquake—is caused by Maui digging too energetically in his garden in the Underworld. Another account, which is much more doubtful, relates that Maui, getting drowsy, lets the earth totter. Whatever the cause the remedy is simple: make a great noise and beat on the ground to recall the god to a sense of his misdemeanor. 823 [776]
8. **Ahlohlo:** Whirlwind. A blind god, who rushes about not knowing whither he is going nor what damage he is doing. A small whirlwind is a small god and a large whirlwind a great deity. In dealing with this blind god the right procedure is to induce him to go elsewhere by making a noise so that he may know that he is interfering with men. 821 [776]

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. E. W. Gifford of the Bayard Doninick Expedition, Bishop Museum, who has made available information collected in 1920-1921, including interesting notes written by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of Haapai; to my wife, whose interest in Tongan lore places me under constant obligation; to Prince Tungi, the Consort of Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga; and to my friends and colleagues of the Methodist Mission, Rev. J. Havea, Rev. D. Malupo, and Rev. A. Tamale. 122

175 to this region, however, they believed none were
775 admitted but the chiefs: the tooa, or lower class,
565 therefore, having no hope of sharing such bliss, seldom speculate upon a futurity, which to them appeared a prospect "lost in shadows, clouds, and darkness."

All, however, seemed to find consolation in calling upon a Deity, in trouble, or applying to him for a continuance of plenty. They solemnly implored his blessing, when they set their yams, and expressed their gratitude to him, when they gathered them, [644] by offerings to Duatonga the priest who personated him and interceded for them. Each district also called upon its appropriate God, and each change in the elements summoned them to address its peculiar divinity. Was there a storm? They called on Calla Filatonga, who, they supposed, was the goddess of the wind. Were they deluged with rain, 776 or parched with heat? They supplicated Tongaloer, 782 the god of the sky and rain, as they said, the 821 Deity was very angry. Was there an earthquake? 175 They cried out to Mowe, a giant who, they supposed, supported the island on his shoulders. An 776 instance of this occurred not many months after we 782 had landed at Tongataboo. We had lain down 825 about 10 o'clock, after our evening service, to rest; when we were alarmed by a considerable shock: but our alarm was much increased, immediately after, by an universal shout of all the natives within hearing, in every direction. The next day we

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE.

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inquired into the cause of the uproar; and they told us, with seeming sincerity and unconcern, that the island had been shaken, because the giant mowe, who supported it upon his shoulders, was become weary with his burden, and was beginning to fall asleep; and that for fear he should stumble and throw the island off his shoulders, they had all cried out as loudly as possible, and beaten the ground with sticks, to awake him: that by their howlings he was roused from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.

At another time, I was upon the sea-shore, when there was felt a smart shock of an earthquake, and I saw two canoes that were lying upon the beach, shaken with it. The natives did not appear at all alarmed; but immediately began to shout as loud as they could, and to beat the ground with sticks, till it was over. I began to ridicule their folly and superstition: but they took no notice of it: they said they were sure mowe was falling asleep, and they must rouse him; and began again to howl and scream and to strike the earth.

They supposed also that every man had an odooa or particular spirit attending him; and when any thing wonderful excited their attention respecting us or our goods or arts, as was the case with our cuckoo-clock, &c. they would say, "Oye awa koo odooa fagee!" "O dear, he has a spirit!" The odooa or particular spirit, which presides, as they

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The village overseer, the school-teacher, the pastor, and a man like Biukala who controls three *api*, all find that they are respected for the fact that their additional wealth makes it possible for them to expend more in the giving of feasts. Power, that is, that comes from relatively great wealth is used mainly to increase the size and frequency of one's feasts. To these feasts most of the household heads of the village are invited. Or if they are not invited, then part of the food on display trickles back to their household through gifts to close relatives. Thus, many in the village share in a large feast even though a relatively few only may actually be present at the eating of the food displayed. There are always obligations to be paid off to this household or that. Food given as a gift from one feast may actually change hands several times before it is all finally consumed: each household having a part in this chain of exchange will take part of the food-gift and then pass the rest on to another household to whom it has an outstanding obligation. Probably no single factor will produce greater changes in village life than the accumulation of money for power, rather, than as at present, the use of money to gain prestige through feasts. But this change is not yet significant in village life.

CHANGES IN CRAFT-ACTIVITIES

In considering the various aspects of craft-activities and the place they occupy today in village economic life, one sees evident signs of change which suggest something of a decay in craft-techniques. In fishing-activities for instance, few men bother with net- or line-fishing. Fish of any sort are fairly rare in the daily diet. Not that the villagers have lost a taste for fish. Whenever an occasional successful fisherman blew a whistle in the village to announce that he had fish to sell, those who had money to spare would rush to buy. On these occasions we could give no more acceptable gift to neighbouring friendly families than a block of fresh fish. The fact that fish is a delicacy today goes along with this lack of interest in fishing. This indifference to the sea, noticeably strange in the descendants of a great sea-going people such as the Tongans formerly were, comes out also in other ways. Thus, Pangai is situated on a rise within one hundred yards or so of a beach. Two or three other

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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swimming-beaches lie within easy walking-distance. Yet young boys rarely learn to swim before the age of six or seven, and girls often much later. Younger children are often severely whipped for venturing to stroll unattended toward the nearest village beach. Yet the beach itself provides safe swimming at all tides. Elsewhere in Polynesia, by contrast, children of three are already fair swimmers and none, parents or children, seem to have that fear of the water which is characteristic of the Pangai villager.

This decay in the art of fishing can be paralleled in other aspects of village economic life. In bark-cloth-making for example, there is apparent a sort of technique atrophy which may be the prelude to slow death. Mariner describes a technique for making bark cloth at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the prepared cloth was baked in an earth oven and then spread out all night to be dampened by the dew before it was sun-dried on the next morning and packed away in bales. None of the villagers had heard of the use of this oven-baking or dew-dampening process even though Mariner says that it increases the durability and strength of the bark cloth. The lack of just these two qualities in their bark cloth worries the Tongans today, when they compare bark cloth with cotton piece-goods. They have evidently forgotten, therefore, two skills that might be used to improve the quality of the bark cloth for which they still have major use.

A somewhat similar atrophy is noticeable in the arts of cooking. Here the introduction of the kerosene-tin or the iron cooking-pot has meant the ever-increasing use of the simple technique of boiling and a progressive lack of interest in oven-baking. By comparison with oven-food, even the villager admits that boiled food is tastelessly sodden and lacks variety of flavour. We read out to Biukala some of the recipes that Mariner gave for preparing Tongan foods. Most of the recipes he had heard of by name, many he could cook himself. But he had to admit that few of the villagers had either the knowledge or the patience to prepare Tongan food according to these older methods. Whatever variety there is introduced into the food eaten today often comes from the addition of large amounts of cane sugar to mixtures of flour and water, or else from the use of tinned beef and

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 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming about as interesting and as important to the villager as it is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

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 The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques. He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did, especially where new methods and novel appliances are more efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing respectable, provided only that the music and words are concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in no tradition except that of their own making. All in all, change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

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 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for the preparation of common meals. Generally this group uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large. The relationships of the persons making up the individual households (as determined by a census taken of all the households in the village) consist of twenty-six different groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

PROPAGANDA BY PHOTOGRAPHS.

81

in virtue of his local rank. His office, however, seemed to place him next to the Governor in importance, for he alone can have the ordering of other men's labour without paying for it—a distinction that carries weight in every community. Tukuaho told them how much he regretted that an empty Treasury had tied his hands, so that he could not yet pay them the nine months' salary due to them on Mr Baker's departure; but he announced that from that day forward their salaries would be punctually remitted to them, and that the payment of the amount owing to them by his predecessor (he was not going to speak ill of the absent) would depend upon their own loyalty. The sooner they could induce their friends to pay their taxes, the sooner would they receive the arrears due to them. 634
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Next day the mail-steamer from New Zealand put in, after touching at Nukualofa. From the former place she brought Mr Baker's son—formerly his private secretary—carrying, for distribution among the natives, a bundle of lithographs of his father, subscribed "The Premier appointed by Tubou"; and from the latter Mr Watkin, the chief minister of the Free Church, and the staunch ally of the late Premier, ostensibly to make church collections, but also, as it afterwards proved, to further unsettle the minds of his flock. 205
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At mid-day we set sail for Nukualofa. A chain of volcanoes traverses the Tongan group from north to south, and one or other of the craters is generally in a state of sufficient activity to be employed by one of the contending Church parties against the other. In August 1886, the sudden eruption in Niuafoou was pointed to by the 823
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82 THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

823 persecuted Wesleyans as a sign of the wrath of heaven
795 against the Free Church; but the tables were turned,
[186] and the dull glare of Tofua, which we had seen every
night from Haapai, was now seized upon by the Free
Church ministers as a warning of the peril of the State
from British machinations. But an eruption is public
property, and I was told that Tofua was used by our own
supporters to awe the opponents of "the just-dealing
Government" into complacency.

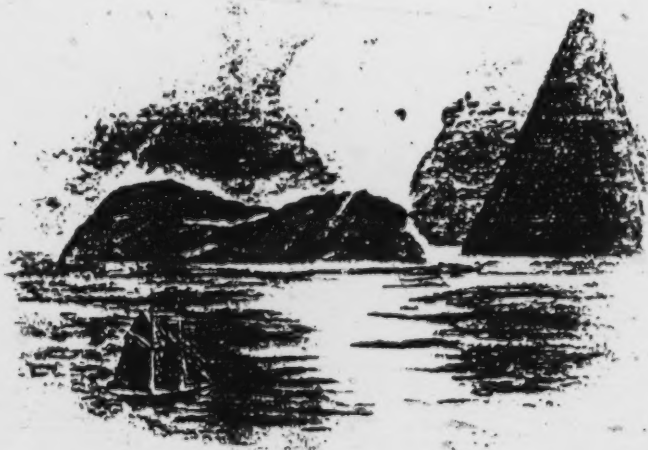
133 With the view of seeing the crater more closely we
steered direct for Tofua, and were becalmed within two
miles of the volcano long after sunset. The night was
very dark, but every few minutes the dull glare of the
crater was illuminated with a burst of flame, and masses
of red-hot rock were projected into the air with deep
reverberations. The crater was not more than 200 feet
above the sea-level, and was close to the north shore of the
island. I therefore tried to persuade the crew to take us
into the deep strait that separates the island from the
sugar-loaf cone of Kao. But they were frightened at the
explosions, and flatly refused, urging that we should be
becalmed on the lee side, and become a target for the
missiles from the crater. It was useless to urge that the
stones would not fall into the sea: they were obdurate,
and we had reluctantly to steer southwards.

175 It was within sight of this island that, on the morning
177 of May 1789, the crew of H.M.S. Bounty mutinied and
set their commander, Lieutenant Bligh, adrift in the
launch. On landing at Tofua he was treacherously at-
tacked by the natives, and John Norton, his quarter-
master, was struck down as he was casting off the stern-

THE MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY.

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fast. The sequel is thus told by the natives. They ¹⁷⁵
dragged the body inland to a *malae*¹ (the island being ¹⁷⁷
the property of the Tui Tonga, there are many there),
and after exposing it for three days, they buried it. But [823] ●
the whole of the track made by the body as it was
dragged along has ever since remained bare of grass,
as well as the spot where the corpse lay exposed.



[133]

Tofua in eruption.

Mariner, who visited the place in 1808, saw this track,
and says that it had not the appearance of a beaten
path. At the end was a bare place, at right angles to
the path, about the length and breadth of a man's body.

Daylight found us within sight of the "new island." ¹³³
Early in 1886 a submerged reef broke out into sub-

¹ Sacred enclosure where sacrifices were offered.

THE BORDERLAND OF MYTH.

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173 pursued, they launched forth upon the ocean, and sailed
175 to Niua-tobutabu, and thence before the wind to distant
643 Niua-foou; but even thither did Kau-ulu-fonua pursue
682 them. And they fled northward again to Haamoa, whose
[103] ancient name was Hahafakamoa,¹ and were driven out
from thence. Then they put forth again, and fled to

[823] Uvea, and still they were pursued. So they fled west-
ward to Futuna; and because this was the end of the
world, and there was no land beyond them to which they
might flee, they awaited the coming of Kau-ulu-fonua and
his brothers with the remnant of their army.

And when he landed, he prepared his men for war, and
173 the men of Futuna, marvelling at his prowess, said, "Thou
175 art not brave of thyself, but by favour of the gods." And
643 he mocked them, and cried, "Then I will leave my back to
682 the gods to defend, and myself defend my face." And as
776 he was attacking the gate of the wall which his father's
murderers had built, one of them wounded him in the
back as he was passing through the gate. Thereat he
cried, "The gods are fools: they cannot even shield my
173 back." And he seized the old man who had wounded
175 him, and held him until his men came up; and they took
643 the town, and bound both the murderers, and brought
682 them before him, and there was peace. Therefore to this
day are there two divisions of Futuna—the one Futuna,
and the other Futuna Tini because it was left unharmed
[648] by the war. And Kau-ulu-fonua told the people of
Futuna that, as a reward to them for having helped him
to seize his father's murderers, he would grant that they
should always spoil the Tongan canoes that reached their

¹ Hahafakamoa = beating like a cock's wings.

382 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

000 gotten, the primitive method of raising weights is likely to prevail in that district. I asked the old men what they did with heavier weights still, and they immediately answered, "We make the platform of earth, and dig it away to make the log tip up." No doubt, when the log or stone is on end, they dig away the platform, throwing the earth into its old position, so that no trace remains. Having seen the whole process, I shall continue to believe that Stonehenge was built like this, until some one offers a better explanation.

349 There is a legend that the Haamonga stones were
[773] brought by the god Maui in a gigantic canoe from Uea
[823] (Wallace Island), and that you may see there great holes
in the rock whence they were quarried. A European
even assured me that the stone is of a kind not found
[135] in Tonga at all. This part of the story at least is not
true, for the stone is mere coral, hardened by exposure of
exactly the same quality as the reef close by.

136 In discussing the peculiarities of man I have altogether
neglected the lower animals in Tonga. The only indig-
enous mammals were a small field-rat, a fruit-eating bat
[226] or flying fox, and a small cave-bat. The rat, having no
[526] enemies but man, swarmed throughout the islands: so
numerous were they that it was a chieflike sport to shoot
them in the paths with a bow and arrow. They have
almost vanished now before the cats, dogs, and their
voracious Norway cousin, and rat-shooting is now as
extinct as bear-baiting in England.

[231] The first foreign arrival was of course the pig. It is a
[177] popular fallacy that Captain Cook, among his other benefi-

778 In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki
 823 (Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the
 craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop.
 At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made
 of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made
 its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three
 in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed
 was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards
 provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-
 known fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of
 the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

778 Later Maui Atalunga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Under-
 world and settled at Koloa in Vavau, where a temple of Maui stood up
 to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite
 consistent at this point. Atalunga married a woman of Vavau, whom
 one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded
 in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having
 been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavau, and various
 other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of
 the position of the Vavau of myth has an interest and difficulty not
 unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear,
 in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawau), "There
 is reason for thinking that Vavau in the Friendly Islands is not the
 mythological Vavau or Wawau; the name has been localised anew
 all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever
 complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

794 In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the
 practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to
 them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-
 wide, and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to
 565 various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially
 [794] associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who
 [771] are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane
 [643] affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and
 [781] particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part
 [776] of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chieftiness, of which
 the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing
 sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe.
 Chieftiness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Aloecitu, the first Tui
 Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a
 human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were
 [776] worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean
 [778] apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by
 a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony.

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*, but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the *fuhu*.

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-fumaka in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-buaka (lit. Old Pig), an important *atabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octopus which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland. When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature.

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with

776 been eaten, but all the scraps obtainable were put into a bowl, and the
defunct whale thus restored to life. One tusk, which had been
presented to the Tui Tonga, was not recovered, but Jinilan comforted
him with the observation that nobody would notice its absence unless
he opened his mouth very wide.

776 Toki-langa-fonua, a great god of Eua, wont to appear in a shark,
called the Tui-Fai-Ana, i.e., King of the Fai Cave. Myth relates
825 that Toki-langa-fonua swam to Samoa, and that Tui-fai-ana guarded
776 him throughout the journey. This shark* was not an ordinary fish,
but quite a species to himself. His stump tail was a distinguishing
823 feature, as was the variability of his colour. His home was the cave
825 called Fai-ana on the coast of Eua. He was reputed to be girded
about with a shoal of the fish called in Tongan *hofoli*. Approach to
776 the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling
825 leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime, and the prohibition
seems to have extended to persons in whom were physical or moral
defects. (A boat can never be successful in shark-fishing unless
sincere harmony exists between the members of the crew). No noise
must be made near his home. Anyone at all unfitted for proximity to
823 the god who attempted to approach the cave fell from the narrow rock
825 path along which he must go, but apparently escaped any penalty
776 more serious than a wetting, for falling into the sea he had no
difficulty in swimming back a little way, and there scrambling ashore.
It is said too that a great wave used to arise at the mouth of the cave
and prevent the approach of the wrongly-disposed person. I have not
yet met anyone who claims to have seen this remarkable shark,
though I have talked with a young man who says that he has seen in
the cave the shoal of *hofoli* said to be the leaf-girdle of Tui-fai-ana.

776 Toki-langa-fonua (Land-building Axe) is said to have come down
from heaven as king of Eua. He begot by his sister Hina twin
daughters, Tobukulu and Nafanua, who in their turn bore to their
father Hemorna and Tafakula. These incests were unwittingly
committed, the parties to them being ignorant of each other's
identity.

825 The people of Eua are said to be immune from attack by the
species of shark called *anga*. As a matter of fact the *anga* has more
reason to fear Tongans than they to fear him. It is rarely that one
262 hears of a Tongan being injured by a shark, but the shark furnishes
226 many a meal for the Tongan. The native of these islands displays
remarkable intrepidity and skill in the water. In the shark-fishing,
the shark is enticed alongside the boat by singing and calling out and
rattling with coconut shells strung on a stick, and a running noose is
then slipped over his head. If matters are not going smoothly a
member of the crew does not hesitate to jump overboard and attend to
the noose at close quarters.

Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-lunga-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776 776 823 782

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-lunga-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). 825

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. 776 821 133 776 822 824 778

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 821 133 776 822 824 778

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 771

776 She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was
[821] spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

[171] Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jiuilau has been mentioned above.

776 The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god,
825 Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only
779 association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a
[481] matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-koloa and Tama-tang-kia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanna (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part
[821] of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanna, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

776 Sinalele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

[825] The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically
[175] interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there
[361] within the memory of living men.

Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent chief is inducing his people to give up village life and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems likely that the next few decades will see a return to the intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food plants has been much enlarged by introductions.

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans'

132 fact is, the heavy rain soon saps the foundation of the large posts upon which the security of the building depends. Gradually the wind sways the superstructure to and fro, and at every gust, opens and widens the earth around the sockets of the posts, until the entire fabric loses its equilibrium, and coming down with a crash, all its posts and beams, however tough and thick, are snapped like so many carrots. Nevertheless, instances have been known in which posts, two feet in diameter, were broken off short by the surface of the ground, where their sockets had been imbedded in solid rock.

133 All the islands are subject to earthquakes, which are both frequent and violent. This might naturally be expected from the proximity of so much continuous volcanic action; but their occurrence produces very little alarm. The native buildings cannot be overthrown, and hence, beyond the awe with which the earthquake is calculated to inspire every mind, there is no sense of personal insecurity. Although they are, at times, so violent as to detach large portions of stone from the face of the cliffs, we never heard of any fatal, or even disastrous, consequences resulting from them. One of the gods

133 (some say Maui, and others say Lofia,) is said to
776 be reposing in the heart of the volcano at Tofua,
823 and that the earthquake is either caused by the excessive nodding of the deity, or by the act of turning from one side to the other, when too much irritated by the effects of his fiery bed. Whichever it may be, the natives invariably raise a great shout, during the continuance of the tremulous motion, for the purpose of thoroughly awaking the Plutonic deity, lest his nodding and uneasi-

SALINE LAKE IN NOMUKA. 115

ness should, unhappily, overturn the world altogether. This custom still prevails; although the belief of the native mind, as to the supposed cause of the earthquake, has long since been abandoned.

In addition to the fresh-water and other lakes already enumerated, in connexion with several of the volcanic islands, there is one at Nomuka, in Haabai, having certain saline properties, exceedingly worthy of notice. There is also another, in the western district of Vavau, but it has no special peculiarities, and it is of no great extent.

That at Nomuka occupies the centre of the island, which, although not more than one hundred feet in elevation, is evidently of volcanic origin. Following the shape of the island, the lake extends lengthwise in an oval form. Its depth is remarkably varied, being in some places only a few feet, and, in others, as many fathoms. The water is intensely brackish, and, in taste, is not unlike a strong solution of Epsom salts. There is no visible connexion with the outer ocean, and no perceptible rise or fall of the water.

A peculiar fish is found here in great abundance. It differs from all known in the adjacent sea, and it has the property of remaining perfectly fresh for an entire day or more, while all other kinds go bad, in the course of two or three hours, in consequence of the extreme heat. After being once cooked, the *ava* will remain eatable for a number of days: and hence it is in much request, by the natives, when on their voyages, as an article of provender. Indeed, the lake may be regarded as a fish preserve, inasmuch as it is placed under certain restrictions in favour of voyagers. No

It probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical precision. This same word is found in compounds meaning fear (*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-he* "wandering manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking this class of words together the primary significance of *mana* seems to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb perhaps means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses of the word *mana*, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tongatabu under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was *mana*, though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accompanying the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus-



823

"Cave of the Gods" (as it is called), at Toulia, Vava'u frames the silhouettes of Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu (on the left) and Frederick Schaumkel. Caves were used in early Tonga as burial sites, as shelter spots, or as hiding places from the enemy.

Ko 'Ana 'Otua eni 'i Toulia, Vava'u. Ko Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu ena 'i to'ohema, pea mo Frederick Schaumkel. Na'e fa'a ngaue'aki e ngaahi 'ana he taimi ko e ko ha fa'itoka, pe ko ha nofo'anga, pea fa'a toitoi ai foki e ni'ihii mei he fili.

[p. 45-A]

133 Tonga being a country made up of islands (150 at
182 present), the sea has always been a factor around which
181 life revolved. Tongans are reputedly among the most
adventuresome, adept seafarers. According to popular
174 belief, Tonga and Samoa may well have been the center
of dispersal for other island groups. That is, the first
Polynesians who migrated, say, from southeastern Asia
and Indonesia, made the area of Tonga and Samoa the
cradle of Polynesian civilization.

181 Thus, the innumerable references to the sea which
823 are made in this book, are reflective of the feeling of
respect for and communion with the sea which the
Tongans have always felt, as well as of the spirit of
adventure and seafaring which have long been a vital
part of the Tongan way of life.

Donna Gerstle

[p. 10-B]

[p. 11 is blank]

621 mourning is observed. The period of such abeyance usually
765 lasts about a week (it may be less in the case of a child's
death or longer if the person was of high status), and it
comes to an end after the head of a bereaved fāmilī has
spoken with one of the leading people in the village asking
him to inform people that they should resume normal
activities. It should be noted here that, as far as I
could ascertain, there is no underlying notion that the
village is mourning the loss of one of its members;
instead, the observance of a period of quiet is regarded
as a proper but voluntary gesture of respect towards the
bereaved.

621 While the village as a unit has little significance
823 for action, this does not mean that a village is something
without meaning. On the contrary, people identify them-
selves to others as being of or from such-and-such a place.
In doing this, however, they may name a village or island
other than the one in which they are presently residing.

[186] Self-identification by reference to another village or
island is especially common among people who come from the
smaller and more remote islands, some of whom have a strong
sense of the way of life on their island being different
from and preferable to that on more sophisticated islands. 6

6 Conversely, I was told that on the smaller islands
some people tend to emphasize the fact of their not being
originally from that island.

621 There was a middle-aged woman who, in 1970, had been
823 living in Motulahi for fifteen years and still claimed her
real home to be one of the far northern islands of Tonga,
even though she had not visited the island for many years
and few of her kin were still living there. What is more,
the young woman who was her daughter also spoke of herself
as being really of or from that island, merely away from
it for the time being through force of circumstances,
although she had not lived there since before she was ten
years old. In fact, this way of speaking of one's living
"temporarily" in a village or island other than one's
"real" place is very similar to the way in which people
sometimes speak of household membership (see Chapter IV).
In matters of village affiliation, too, the point at which
one begins to speak of oneself as being of or from the new
village is a subjective issue that is not simply a matter
of length of residence and manifest ties to one place or
another.

Not only do people identify themselves in terms of
village (or island) membership, but this may also be a
point of reference for identification by others. Indeed,
most activities that involve large numbers of people who
come from many villages use the local unit (i.e., the
village or--if it is an intra-denominational activity--
the congregation) as an organizing principle. At funerals,

At funerals,
621 which are widely attended by adherents of different deno-
823 minations, people may be asked to group themselves
764 according to village-membership to facilitate the distri-
621 bution of food. People may even be maligned through refer-
186 ence to the folk reputation of their village or island--
823 a stereotypic reputation based on certain events in Tongan
history. For example, on one occasion I was accompanying
a group of basketball players from Motulahi to a match in
a village a few miles away. Just as we came there, we
passed a group of youths scuffling at the side of the road.
The young women beside me turned to me and remarked:
"Look at that, Sulamita. The people from--naming that
village--are known to be ruffians, and see how true it is!"
This reputation is based on a notorious episode involving
people of that village that took place during the civil
war. Other villages may be associated with elements that
confer positive distinction. Thus, the village of Lapaha
on Tongatapu is celebrated as the traditional seat of the
Tu'i Tonga, the village of 'Uiha in Ma'apai is associated
with Tāufa'āhau (the founder of the present ruling dynasty),
the village of Fea on Tongatapu is highly regarded among
Tongan Catholics as the first village where Catholic
missionaries were welcomed, and so on. People who identify
themselves with these villages take some pride in their
village's place in history. However, a village's historical

621 reputation is not seriously regarded as an element of
186 personal identity for individuals living in or associated
823 with the village.

Articulation with Higher Levels of Authority

621 More than anything else, the Tongan village is a territorial entity, for villages are defined primarily in terms of the boundaries of the tracts of land known as 'estates' (tofia). Since every allotment is part of the estate of a particular noble or part of a specific Government estate, there is never any question about which is the village with which an allotment is associated, even where villages are contiguous. There is no doubt, for example, where Kukutau ends and Motulahi begins.

631 Besides its territorial definition, the Tongan
[62] village is defined by another external criterion: a village is an administrative unit within the state. Between the village and the state are two intermediate levels in the hierarchy of government. First, viewed from the top down, there are the districts, corresponding with the geographical groupings of islands: Tongatapu District, Ha'apai District, and Vava'u District.⁷ The districts are further divided into sub-districts, and the sub-districts are made up of their constituent villages and town-sectors.

7 For some purposes, the island of 'Eua is treated as a separate district, as are the three far northern islands.

1777]

THE FACE OF 'EUA

[157

Before I returned on board I set on foot a trade for Hogs and Yams, of the first we got but few but of the latter plenty. I put a shore at this island the Sheep I gave to Mariwaggy, viz a Ram and two Ewes of the Cape breed; they were intrusted to the care of Ta-oo-fa who seemed to be proud of his charge. As the Dogs had not yet got to this island I looked upon it to be the properest place for sheep.

SUNDAY 13th. The 13th in the after noon a party of us traveled to the top of the highest hill in order to have a View of the interior parts of the island. About half way we crossed a deep Valley, whose bottom and sides were clothed with timber, though composed of hardly any thing but coral rock, which, as was observed on Tongatabu, was perforated into all those holes and inequalities we find it on the Sea Coast, though this could not be less than two or three hundred feet above the level of the Sea. Indeed we found the same Coral till we began to approach the summits of the highest hills, these were chiefly composed of yellowish soft sandy stone. The soil for the most part is a redish Cley which in many places seemed to be very deep.¹ On the very summit of the highest hill is raised a round platform or Mount of earth, supported by a wall of Coral stone, which to bring so high must have cost much labour. Our guides told us that this Mount was raised by order of their Chief and that they sometimes met there to drink Cava²—there being a spring of very good Water not many paces from it, and about a mile lower down a running stream which we were told finds its way to the Sea when the rains are copious; we also met with Water in many little holes so that by digging no doubt but great plenty would be found. From this hill we had a full View of the whole island except a part of the south point; the SE side from which the hills are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities directly from the Sea, so that the plains and Meadows, of which here are some of great extent, lay all on the NW side; and as they are

¹ 'Eua geologically is an interesting combination of the coral and the volcanic island. Coralline limestone was deposited on an underwater volcanic base; then renewed volcanic activity was followed by intermittent uplift, and later tilting which made the east and south sides higher than the west and north ones. Hence the combination of coral rock, soft volcanic tuff and volcanic soil which Cook describes in these last two sentences, and the landscape he describes further on. Parts of the island were naturally very fertile. To the tributes printed in II, p. 260, n. 4 may now be added one from Edgar. 'This little Island may be stiled the Montpelier of the Friendly Isles—the Land is higher than any of the others, and affords some of the most Romantick & beautiful Valleys in the World the greatest part of this Island is not planted the Earth or Soil of which bears the Strongest resemblance to red Ocre—tho' there is great abundance of every thing for it's inhabitants the Walks are enchanting and the whole Island is a little Paradise.'

² It was an *avi*, or 'rest-mound', a mound built for a particular chief, in some advantageous spot, where he might take his ease, and recreate his spirit with the view, which Cook goes on to describe. Sometimes the ownership would lie in the whole chiefly family. The Tongans were very conscious of natural beauty, as well as of the pleasure of cooling breezes.

870]

[1777]

ANDERSON'S JOURNAL

[May

133 whole might supply the imagination with an idea of some fairy land
 [133] realiz'd. It would appear that some of these places may be form'd after
 the manner we have suppos'd of Palmerstons Island, as there is one
 which as yet is entirely sand and another that has only one bush or
 tree. Indeed the appearance of Annamooka in general argues also
 such a mode of formation, did not its height perswade us that the sea
 has either made a very sudden recess or that it has begun to do so at a
 period so remote as scarcely to coincide with the date of the Creation.

114 At five in the evening we had reach'd Kotoo the most N^westerly
 133 of the low islands, a little beyond which is a shoal or reef on which the
 sea breaks all around. On passing it we were about two leagues from
 Toofôâ, the smoke of which we had seen several times in the day
 131 though it had now almost ceas'd. This island is about ten leagues NNW
 162 from Anna'mooka and though according to the natives but thinly
 312 inhabited has good water. They call the Volcano upon it Kolloo'fecca¹
 and say it is an O'tooa or divinity, about which they seem to have
 133 some superstitious notions. They say it sometimes throws up very
 823 large stones and compare the Crater to the size of a small islet, which
 103 has never ceas'd smoaking in their memory nor have they any
 116 tradition that it ever did. We now hauld our wind and stood ESE
 towards the islands already mention'd which form here almost a
 114 semicircle. At six were about two miles from the shore of one of the
 largest call'd Ma'toogoo,² when we sounded and had ground with 55
 fathom a fine black sandy bottom, and soon after nearly the same
 water with a coarser white sand. We then tack'd and stood back
 having for half an hour between 50 and 60 fathom, when we brought
 to with the main-topsail to the mast for some time & afterwards stood
 [133] on to the westward. A great many Egg birds and flying fish were seen
 in the passage to day, and it was observ'd that after sailing in the
 morning a tide or current from the westward set us much over
 towards the islands on the right.

132 THURSDAY 15th. Therm. 72½:73:74½:77:75:74½. Light airs of wind
 from the S^ward and frequently quite calm with very fine weather.
 114 The sea perfectly smooth. Between twelve and one in the morning we
 tack'd and stood eastward keeping close haul'd to pass to the South-
 [133] ward of Fotoohââ which is the Island next Kâô. At day light were
 [103] not far from the last place, which is a vast rock of a conic figure with
 marks on its sides as if made by torrents rushing down. After passing

¹ The name of the volcano is Lofia. *Ko* is the nominative article. Lofia seems also to have
 been the name of the 'etua or god who dwelt within the crater, throwing up fire and smoke
 and stones.

² Matuku.

1777]

TONGAN RELIGION

[949

denotes local worship. The Malaces are however doubtless public places for that purpose, as their solemn rites are perform'd there, and their superiority with respect to situation and extent which far exceeds any of their private habitations argues; besides there can be no other reasonable conjecture offer'd about the persons who pronounce'd the orations, in performing the Natche & the two that began the same thing when we first went with Poulaho, than that they were no other than priests and at that time absolutely preferring some petition to this invisible being. The next part of their creed is a belief in the plurality of deities, though all inferior to this one, amongst whom they mention Toofooa boolootoo¹ god of the clouds and fogg, Talle te'boo² and some others residents of the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is call'd Footo'fooa³ who they say is a male and has for wife Fykava ka'jeea,⁴ and here as in heaven there are several inferior ones as Va'hää-fonooa;⁵ Tareeava;⁶ Matta'ba-E'varoo' &c. The same religious system does not however extend all over the cluster of isles; for the supreme god of Hapace for instance is call'd Alo Alo,⁷ and other isles have two or three of different names, but their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings would be reckoned erroneous with us, as they suppose that after death they have no farther concern with them.

They have however very proper notions of the immateriality and immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle or what is more agreeable to their notions of it an O'tooa,⁸ divinity or invisible being, and say that immediately on death that of their chiefs separates from the body and goes to a place call'd Boolootoo,¹⁰ the chief or god of which is Goolcho.¹¹ This Goolcho seems synonymous with our Death, for all (even you & the men of Feejee speaking to us) say they are subject to the power and dominion of Goolcho. They feign that this country was never seen by any person, is to the westward beyond Feejee⁹ (from whence one might suppose it is the most distant land they know, as many nations have plac'd their heaven in such a

⁸ This shows that their notions of distance & duration extend but a little way as they suppose an everlasting place may be on the globe. [823]

¹ Probably this is the same as Mariner's 'Too'i foaa Bolotoo'—Tu'i fua Pulotu, 'Chief of all Pulotu'—Pulotu being the afterworld. [75]

² Talaitupou, the god of the Tu'i Kanokupolu; also god of war. [642]

³ This god eludes me, even though 'first in rank and power'.

⁴ Fakavakisia, elsewhere said to be male.

⁵ Fakafanua, or Tu'i Haa Fakafanua.

⁶ Taliafa?

⁷ Matapa'i-valu?

⁸ Aloalo was 'God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general', says Mariner, II, p. 107. His sanctuary was in Lifuka. [821]

⁹ Oua.

¹⁰ Pulotu.

¹¹ Hikulco. [824]

[772]

[1777]
CLERKE'S JOURNAL

[1311]

in the justice of this procedure, look'd on with seeming pleasure, and when I turn'd the fellow overboard, tho' there were at least 20 Canoes about, no one for a quarter of an hour wou'd take him up: I adher'd to this Plan, which tho' it did not abolish this confounded custom, it render'd it much less frequent. The Indians themselves so far saw the justice of it, that we had several instances of their detecting a Thief which had eluded the vigilance of our People, & bringing him to me with his stolen Goods; upon these Occasions I always liberally rewarded the Prosecutor & rewarded the Thief. I offer'd abundance of fine Things if they wou'd return my Cats, but they were too fond of them, I found them irretrievable. Our general Trade at these Isles were Hatchets Nails, Knives, Looking-glasses, Beads, & sometimes a peice of red Cloth; the Blue & red Beads were what they most esteem'd, any other Colour they put very little Value upon.

Our Method was, whenever we went to an Island, one of the first things we did, was to look out for a convenient market Place; here we stationed our People who were adjudg'd to that duty, which were generally the Gunners of the 2 Ships, & here the Natives very regularly brought their Merchandize; sometimes they wou'd bring them to the Ships, where there were likewise people appointed to bargain with them. The Agee's frequently made us large presents of Yams, Hogs &c; this was pleasing, as it kept up that social appearance, which it was both our Inclination & Interest to maintain; but they were always in the End, by far the dearest Provision we got. Every place we went to was deficient in that important requisite, good Water, we got some at them all, but cou'd not denominate it good: at Anamooka it was rather brackish, at the Arpi Isles rather filthy, and at Amsterdam it was both; however it was all I believe very wholesome, for we found no bad effects from the use of any of it, we had no other, & our People were all very healthy, but it was not so palatable as we cou'd wish.

They tell us, that at Vow-Vow (which they say is a large Isle, laying No of the Arpi Isles one days sail) there is a very good Harbour with a fine Stream of Water running into it;¹ they tell us too, that there's abundance of excellent Water at a Group of Isles, which they call Fidgi, which they say lie wnw 5 Days sail with a fair Wind from those they call the Arpi Isles where we were: five days sail for one of those Canoes is a great distance, they sail very fast; from all the Accounts I cou'd get, I shou'd conclude the distance about 200 Leagues. These Fidgi Men are the Masters of this part of the World; these People, own they beat and do as they please with them; they are very lavish in the praises of the Country; they say it abounds in every good thing, that the Women are very handsome, and the Men very good, if Friends, but if Enemies they are very devils; in short these our good Friends here, are in perfect dread of them, but they are now upon very good Terms. A Canoe came from Fidgi whilst we staid here; one peculiar-ity I observ'd in the Men, they had all the Grissle of the Ear cut out, so

¹ The reference may be to Neiafu, a deep and land-locked harbour.

CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TONGAN DANCE

ORIGIN AND GEOGRAPHY

131 The Tongan archipelago, last of the Polynesian Kingdoms, lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa (see map, Figure 2.1). Tonga's 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited.

133 Tonga is little known to the Western world except for the geological fame of several of its volcanic islands on the Westerly long axis of the group which are part of a volcanic chain running from New Zealand to Samoa through the Kermadec Islands. Volcanic activity still occurs both above and below the surface of the sea. About midway along this line of islands lie Kao and Tofua. Kao, an extinct crater reaching a height of 3,380 feet, is one of the few examples in the world of a perfect volcanic cone. Tofua, which is flatter and still occasionally erupts, is well known because it was off the coast of Tofua that the mutiny on the Bounty took place. Fonuafo'ou (Falcon Island) is well known because, due to volcanic activity and erosion, it alternates being above and below the surface of the sea.

731
● [829] To the Tongans the most important volcanic island is Muiwafo'ou. The disastrous eruption in 1946 is still vivid in their minds as it necessitated the evacuation of the people to Tongatapu and 'Eua.

197 Muiwafo'ouans are recognized as being 'different' because of their

[p. 12]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

[186 cont.]

133 The island of Namoka, which we left after a stay of two days only,
162 was not above fifteen miles in circuit, but seemed to be remarkably
131 populous. It lies in 20° 17' S. and 174° 32' W. In the group
175 of islands which appeared around it, its size was the most considerable
133 but all seemed to be well inhabited, and very rich in vegetable pro-
162 ductions. They are situated on a kind of bank, on which there is from
137 nine to sixty and seventy fathom water, and the soil is probably
175 the same in every island. Namoka consists, like Tonga-Tabboo, of a
175 coral-rock, covered with a rich mould on which all sorts of vegetables
134 thrive. We had no time to examine the hillock in its centre, which
seems to have had a different origin, and may perhaps be volcanic.

At present it is wholly covered with the richest groves, like the
312 rest of the island. The abundance of fresh water in the pond, is an
175 advantage which the people of Namoka enjoy [187] in preference to those
515 of Tonga-Tabboo; but it does not appear that they bathe so regularly
as the Tahitians, perhaps because the stagnant water is not very in-
viting. Its advantage is however so much felt, that the natives brought
829 it to the ship in calabashes, and did the same to Tasman, which implies
415 that it is looked upon as a valuable article among them. The abundance
137 of water, and the richness of the soil likewise seems to be the reason,
175 that bread-fruit and shaddock trees are much more frequent, and all
417 vegetation infinitely more luxuriant than on Tonga-Tabboo. The fences
on that account are not laid out, and kept up with that extreme
regularity, though they are still preserved in part. The long walks
of fruit-trees, and the delightful green turf under them, were rather
to be compared to the richest spots on Ea-oowhe, or Middleburg Island.
The tufted arbours which vaulted over the paths, are hung with beautiful

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)

OU9 Tonga OU9

TRADITIONAL POLITY IN TONGA 5

The *kau* Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were no temples or priests dedicated to them (Gifford 1929:289) and the creator of some of the islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koua and Momo (Thomas 1879: 12). The *kau* Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the annual 'inasi offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered to her.⁶

Although the principal deities were widely recognised, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods who were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his people had their own gods. These were usually the spirits of their dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their spirits) went to Pulotu where Hikule'o resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood (Gifford 1929:289-90; Wilson 1799:272; Te Rangi Hiroa 1935:12).

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness (Collocott 1921:158). The offerings to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?' The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable

⁶ Some thought that Hikule'o was a male god (Lawry 1850:251); Collocott 1921:152).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

THE CONSOLIDATION 77

trained at Tupou College, have produced outstanding church leaders, ministers of the Crown, doctors, leading public servants and teachers, whose impact on the religious, social, economic and political development of Tonga has been extremely significant. 874 555

The improvement in the training of teachers effected corresponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and philosophy, astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions (*W-M Mag.*, Dec. 1868:1144). 872

Referring to Mrs Tucker's lessons in astronomy Sarah Farmer (1855:332) wrote:

The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustrations some idea of the first principles of astronomy. The lamp was made to represent the sun; a cocoa-nut the earth; some other object the moon; and as the cocoa-nut, suspended by a twisted thread, revolved round the lamp, they were taught the motions of the earth, with the cause of the change in its seasons. Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, etc. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.

Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries definitely went a long way towards undermining the traditional cosmology of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some of the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according to traditional beliefs. For example, the Tongans believed that earthquakes were caused by the deity Maui, who was supposed to be lying, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth, and was at that time turning round. They immediately started their war-whoop in order to awaken him, 'lest he should get up, and in rising, overturn the world' (Farmer 1855:136-7). 797 177 772 813 823 776

The missionaries found that the majority of the Tongans did not have a flair for English. Consequently, subjects had to be taught in Tongan. This led to a proliferation of printed materials in Tongan. Books were translated, traditions and historical information collected, and many were published in the local press. When the old press went out of action, Dr Modilton managed by trial and error to set up one in the College, and trained his 214

The structure of symbolism 253

are said to symbolize the solidarity that exists between an aristocrat and his chief by virtue of links of common maternal ancestry. Second, there is the charcoal symbolism of latent hostility between chiefs and aristocrats. Third, there is the marginality of Eua and Heketa.

In Gifford IV (p. 250) Eua is a substitution for 'Eueiki hence there is a recurrent association between 'Eukeiki and Heketa. Both are unpleasant 'sacred' places associated with sin and death. Both have real existence in modern geography but mythologically both seem to stand for 'the other world' of spirits rather than this world of living men.

In her paper Bott records a myth that is much more explicitly concerned with the polarization of this world and the other world (see p. 228). Bott considers that this myth relates to the origins of certain details of the kava ceremony itself. Her text is as follows:

Bott II

The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a son is born, called 'Aho'eitu. When he grows up he wants to see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he climbs up to the sky by a giant iron-wood tree. 'Aho'eitu is enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that 'Aho'eitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers. When 'Aho'eitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is their father's son, they tear 'Aho'eitu to pieces and eat him up. The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of the linguistic association with nausea.⁶ The sons vomit up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends people to collect the bones and the head which are also put in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above, is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some time 'Aho'eitu begins to take shape and

[1829-1831]

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some Pacific Islands groups may lessen their influence in their Churches also. The fundamental principle remains: every Church should be free from outside control, by governments or by chiefs. For Churches inheriting the traditions of the Protestant Reformation, Christ alone is Head of the Church.

After the crude beginning of Christian teaching by a sailor whom Taufa'ahau used at Lifuka, the chief visited Nuku'alofa in January 1829. It was then that he had a long conversation with Nathaniel Turner after hearing him preach on the *mala'e* near the beach. Taufa'ahau was now convinced not only that Christianity was true but that it would be advantageous for his own future and the well-being of the people. Turner regarded this conversation as marking the turning point for Taufa'ahau.⁽¹⁾

No missionary was available for Ha'apai in January 1829, and Turner urged Taufa'ahau to accept Peter Vi, who was a native of Ha'apai as well as the first teacher in Tongatapu. Taufa'ahau, however, disdained the offer of a Tongan as teacher and returned to Ha'apai in high dudgeon. A storm on the way home made him think that this was a sign of divine displeasure and he returned humbly to accept Peter Vi.

Accompanied by Peter Vi, Taufa'ahau proceeded to uproot the old religion throughout the Ha'apai group. Early in their excursions he showed his contempt for the old gods. On one occasion he took Peter Vi with him to meet the priestess of the god Hachaetahi; when they were drinking kava Taufa'ahau struck her on the forehead with a banana-leaf as she threw back her head to drink. Whether she was killed afterwards, as one account states, or whether she was spared, this act of sacrilege was a deliberate affront to heathenism. Taufa'ahau once threw a spear at the shark-god Taufa'itahi, declaring that, if it was a god, the spear would miss. On another occasion, when sailing off the island of Ha'ano, he ordered Peter and another man to be thrown into the sea for a test; the two men safely reached the shore without encountering any sharks.⁽²⁾

Taufa'ahau's chief method of displaying the powerlessness of the gods was the destruction of idol-houses, which he set on fire, and sacred clubs and the priests' kava-bowls. He strung up five idols by the neck and ridiculed their impotence in the presence of the people.⁽³⁾ John Williams, on his visit to Lifuka in July 1830, was given one of these five idols; he took it to England and displayed it to the crowded Annual Wesleyan Missionary Meeting in Exeter Hall, London, on 4 May 1835. Williams also recorded his impressions of Taufa'ahau's strong personality and his determination to propagate the new faith.⁽⁴⁾

The volcano on Tofua, in the west of the Ha'apai group, was regarded with superstitious awe and it was believed that, if anyone threw a stone into the crater, the stone would return and kill him; but Peter Vi threw in several stones in defiance of the popular belief.⁽⁵⁾ Before long the people on this island followed the rest of the Ha'apai group. In December 1831 the District Meeting reported a school on Tofua with fifty pupils.

For some time Nathaniel Turner had been considering the removal of John Thomas from Hihifo to Ha'apai. On 16 July 1829 he visited Ata to ascertain finally his attitude. Ata told Turner that he would not lift his prohibition against the people of Hihifo receiving Christian teaching; he declared, as he had done repeatedly, "Your religion is very good for you. You attend to your god and I will attend to mine". He offered no objection to Thomas leaving. Thomas waited

/21 cont./

181 The presence of troops on Tongatapu for many years of course had an
177 adverse effect, and these influences fanned out from the main island
831 to the smaller islands. However, it must be said that even today
numerous marriages, at least on the /22/ part of the wife, are strictly
adhered to (22)

22. Mentioned already in Martin, loc. cit.
II. p. 167 ff.

and that they attach great importance, despite a certain freedom of
premarital relations, to the chastity of marriageable girls. (23)

23. See p. 106 ff.

181 Measured by a Central European standard the morality of the Tongan
577 women is higher than that of the Tahiti women. (24)
831

24. According to observations of the author
in Tonga and Tahiti.

181 Their special love of their country--together with a strong
823 feeling for the beauties of nature (25)--

25. For example, Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 301
ff., already mentions it.

has remained a noteworthy aspect of Tongan character, despite their
great interest in distant countries about which the islanders are now
learning, and despite the obvious fascination with the expanded Tongan
seaports. Their deeply rooted feeling for their native land is such
that, for example, many Tongans of the small islands in the Ha'apai
group, where the land is no longer adequate to feed the growing
population comfortably, prefer, despite many government recommendations, to
remain in their villages on their island, instead of going to the main
island where they could obtain sufficient and good land. This love
[533] of their native land is also reflected in the songs composed nowadays
by the Tongans, more than half of which extol their island landscapes.
The seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, despite their relative acces-
sibility--numerous native cutters cross the Archipelago daily--and

/22 cont./

181 despite their large department stores, movies and colorful life and
823 bustle, do not have an irresistible attraction. The Tongans like to travel there, especially to shop, or for entertainment, to visit a relative or to attend a large festival. Still generally they soon return to their small island, lost in the ocean, and despite a certain wanderlust, there are also a number of Tongan men and women who never leave the island they were born on. "Flight from the country," a general "Rush toward the city" is not observable.

181 The Tongan with his kind nature is very emotional in matters of
152 human concern. This shows in his daily life, at arrivals and departures of relatives and friends, and especially in church where their empathy for the biblical passages discussed will bring tears to the eyes of most preachers and many of the faithful (men as well as women); such emotions can become so intense that the preacher's sobbing may make his words unintelligible. Yet /23/ there is also no dearth of examples of hardness and brutality. Some Tongans beat
(593) their wives badly, and gory brawls among young natives do occur. The
(598) public, however, does not regard these incidents as an ordinary state of affairs, but is quite aware that they are exceptions.

181 Animals, on the other hand, are outside the emotions of the Tongans
825 and, in the eyes of the natives, are not regarded as creatures with
(152) feelings of their own. They are usually subject to brutal, not merely harsh treatment, according to our ideas. Thirsty horses and cattle tethered in the bush are, as a rule, reluctantly led to watering places, (26)

26. On Nomuka in December 1951 a bull perished from "dehydration" when its owner "forgot" to water it.

and the starving, half-parched, degenerate dogs are usually hit with heavy objects or harshly stepped on if they timidly and meekly come

/23 cont./

181 near a group eating together. Children play catch with captured
[825] wild birds until the latter perish, while adults raise no objection.

The Tongan character which, along with a large measure of
181 kindness, was at one time also characterized by a certain brutality.
178 toward human beings, (27)

27. For example, Martin, loc. cit. I, pp.
84/85, 210; Wood, loc. cit. pp. 28, 32, 38, 48.

seems to have changed (28)

[797] 28. Doubtless especially because of the strong
missionary influence and the corresponding
government authority inspired by it.

to the extent that today brutal behavior toward fellow-humans is
regarded as revolting and almost never occurs.

181 These natives definitely give the impression of a peaceable, rural
people attached to their soil. The daring that characterized their
forefathers who, as intrepid seafarers, crossed the ocean, seems to
be lost. Yet this impression is misleading. Those Tongans who

[484] nowadays cross the vast ocean every day in their small, primitive and
[502] overloaded cutters, the men who in a storm in January 1952 salvaged
[226] an unmanned cutter driven on a reef outside Nomuka by swimming out
[648] into the surging sea, the young natives who, with their catapults,
[701] shoot fish swimming below the surface in the shark-infested sea, as

well as the large number of those who volunteered for action in the
last war (and the attitude of the 50 Tongan fighters on the Solomons)
prove that the Tongan, even under altered living conditions, has
preserved his ancient valor. The old Polynesian urge to seek and
colonize new land has, however, disappeared. Stubbornly the Tongan

[823] inhabitants remain on their presently occupied and, in part, over-
[241] populated islands; at best they /24/ will lay out a few plantings on
neighboring islands and disregard the fertile and as yet unoccupied
islands of the Archipelago. (29)

/63 cont./

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178. In 'Uiha/'Uiha, for example, five of the 82 marriages existing in April 1952 were common-law marriages.

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The economic basis of the family is now generally individual land ownership: every male Tongan at the age of 16 may receive eight and one-half acres of taxable land (for cultivation) and property for his dwelling in the village. (179)

(593)

179. If there is no more land to be given out on one's home island, one may apply for it, for example, on Tongatapu where larger areas are still available. But most of the natives prefer to stay with their parents and share in working their land, possibly inheriting it, or they move in with relatives.

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As a rule, therefore, the wife at her marriage moves to the place of her husband which he has received as his right or which he has taken over from his father or shares with his family. The two spouses either come from the same village, (180)

180. This is the case particularly in larger villages and on remote islands.

or one spouse, usually the woman, comes from /64/ another village or another island. Married couples seldom move to a new place. (181)

181. Besides a deeply rooted feeling for their home place, greater difficulties in the question of land acquisition by non-residents on most of the Tonga islands are the reason.

For example, in the typical village of 'Uiha of the Ha'apai group on the island of 'Uiha, (182)

182. A large village on a somewhat remote island.

of 61 married couples, both partners were born in 'Uiha; of 15 couples, two husbands and 13 wives came from elsewhere, and of six couples, both partners came from other islands of the Archipelago. (183)

/191 cont./

252 on the amount of food to be stewed; its diameter is approximately one
to one and a half meters, its (center) depth approximately 30 - 60
252 centimeters. On the bottom of the pit they arrange dried coconut
372 leaves in layers and over them the husks and shells of ripe coconuts
(or wood); on top of this they place a great many stones. (488)

[823]

488. They prefer volcanic rocks; however, since these must at some time be fetched from the uninhabited volcanic islands of the Archipelago, they often also use the less effective coralline rocks that are easily obtainable everywhere.

They set fire to the coconut leaves, husks and shells (or wood) and heat the stones; in order to make these red-hot they add more fuel. Finally, the stones that have sunk to the bottom of the pit seem hot enough; with a long stick they scrape the remnants of burned-up fuel out of the "earth-oven" and distribute the stones evenly around the bottom and the wall of the pit up to the top edge. The

252 food which has meanwhile been prepared is then placed in the earth-oven: they will place, for example, the cut-up yams, kape, manioc, etc., on the stones (489)

489. On these they sometimes first put a protective layer of waste after peeling.

and spread over them an insulating layer /192/ of coconut husks. On these they place pouches made of banana leaves (490)

[415]
[824]

490. These banana leaves they prepare by splitting off the center ribs and holding the leaves over the fire so that they become tough and resistant; the bundle (pouch) is tied with the rib part that was split off.

which may, for example, contain cut-up taro leaves (= "vegetable"), fish or corned beef (or a chicken) and coconut milk (squeezed out of the grated coconut meat). They also add pieces of pork to the cut-up tubers, and on special occasions, as in old times, (491)

/251 cont./ When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga occur, some people, as in old times, (675)

675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120;
J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited
in English/. pp. 277/278.

773 still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the
178 earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his
823 uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the
789 meaning of this noise-making.
776

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even
settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not sat-
isfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The
795 reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among
794 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the
Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church,
the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the
Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists
and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades
in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number
of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission
work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority
compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are
split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of
Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and

805 women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)

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748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see *ibid.* p. 164).

whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

212

(205)

The conception of the world (749)

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749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales.

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177

Geography and history, cosmology (751)

(821)

751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For

most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded

(771)

(212)

(538)